Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-88-170
Thursday
1 September 1988

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Disarmament Discussed at Roundtable in Budapest
LD3008194188 Budapest MTI in English
1848 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 30 (MTI)—Peter Hardi, director of the Hungarian Foreign Affairs Institute, summarized the first day of the Budapest conference of leading disarmament experts of five Warsaw Treaty and five NATO member states, in an interview with MTI. He said that a constructive dialogue has come about between experts. The first contributions indicate that the talks related to conventional disarmament require an even more complex approach than the debates on the restriction of nuclear weapons. The world, therefore, has to prepare for a long series of negotiations in this issue. The firm political determination mainly of the concerned decision-makers, ruling politicians and military leaders, is needed for successful dialogue.

The general opinion is that so far only the level of political declarations has been reached in issues of conventional forces and weapons. Analyzing the complex theme package, it already seems certain that the questions should be placed on the agenda of talks in several phases, that certain priorities have to be designated as starting points, at the same time not excluding any issues of detail from the sphere of discussions. The participants also agree, Peter Hardi said, that the central regions of Europe will be the venues for the first steps of conventional disarmament. It is, however, as yet not clear where the borders of the concerned areas will be fixed.

Roundtable Ends
LD3109212588 Budapest MTI in English
1859 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 31 (MTI)—A two-day international roundtable, at which leading experts of five Warsaw Treaty and five NATO countries discussed an extensive sphere of issues related to the goals of European conventional disarmament, its current state and probable development, ended on Wednesday in Budapest.

As the closing event of the conference, held behind closed doors, an international press conference was given by participants.

Hungarian State Secretary of the Foreign Ministry Gyula Horn discussed the themes in which approximately the same views emerged during the two days among the participants, who attended as private persons.

That the theme of disarmament of conventional weapons and military forces has become a central issue was the most important point, he said. Genuine progress in this field has become vitally important, as the existing situation is extremely dangerous, both the Warsaw Treaty and NATO have military forces which are capable of unexpected attacks against the other side. He added that the East-West relation is burdened with military elements and factors, and major progress cannot be achieved in any one area of relations without pushing these factors to the background.

The state secretary said there are major asymmetries and inequalities in the structure and composition of the military forces, and progress towards the considerable reduction of conventional means cannot be expected without the elimination and reduction of disproportions. He held it important that the sphere of vital issues to be clarified emerged in the debate. These, he said, include the precise and authentic establishment of the military forces possessed by the Warsaw Treaty and NATO. He emphatically stressed the necessity of the exchange of military data and of authentic verification. He pointed out that publicity is indispensable in the military field.

The state secretary said that major differences in views also surfaced. For instance, the extent to which certain services within the conventional forces can be qualified as of an attacking or a defensive nature should be clarified, as is the case which forces should be included in the reduction. In conclusion Gyula Horn said that the debates were extremely heated, but participants strove to respect one another's opinions. He held it important that the various views and conceptions clashed, serving special lessons for all participants, needed by both the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, irrespective of the issue discussed, he said.

Following, participants answered questions. With respect to the American F-16 fighters that are to be deployed to Italy from Spain, Vladimir Shustov, director of the Research and Coordination Centre of the Foreign Ministry of the Soviet Union, recalled the former proposals of the Soviet Union which recommended the appropriate reduction in the number of Soviet airplanes, in the interest of solving the problem. However, no positive reply was not given by the West. Helmut Sonnefeldt, director of the American Brookings Institute, stressed that the role of the Air Force is a part of the extremely complex range of issues of conventional disarmament. Therefore, the affair of the F-16 planes cannot be separated from the general connections.

THE NEW YORK TIMES correspondent asked if the possibility of withdrawing the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary was raised at the conference. In his answer Gyula Horn said that it was formulated within the entire sphere of problems of disarmament and connection with European disarmament, and that the withdrawal of foreign troops is an organic part of these processes. Without such action the reduction of military tension cannot be conceived. The question of Soviet troop withdrawal from Hungary can be placed on the agenda in this context.

Vladimir Shustov, discussing the possibilities of eliminating the asymmetries apparent in armed forces and weapons, said that future talks will mainly be held on

this theme. The Soviet Union is ready to solve this issue, and strives to ease European military opposition. He voiced the hope that the Western side will show a similarly constructive approach with respect to the asymmetries that exist to its advantage, and which is a causes of anxiety for the Soviet Union.

Romanian Addresses Geneva Disarmament Conference
AU2608131988 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1142 GMT 26 Aug 88

["Romanian Address to the Plenum of the Conference on Disarmament—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Geneva, AGERPRES, 26/08/1988—Taking the floor during the plenary meeting of the conference on disarmament in Geneva the Romanian chief delegate stressed that as the international situation continues to be complex and contradictory, the arms race goes on and the danger of a nuclear war still threatens mankind, even more sustained efforts should be made by all states, in all debating and negotiating bodies, so that tangible steps and effective measures of disarmament, nuclear in the first place, be taken. In that context it was shown that the cuts stipulated in the treaty on the elimination of shorter and medium-range missiles were just a first step and, although they account for a tangible result in the Soviet-American negotiations on space nuclear weapons, they do not affect the existing military potential. Stress was laid on the great responsibility of the USSR and the USA in disarmament, the importance of the conclusion, already this year, of an accord on a 50-per cent cut in strategic arms by the two big nuclear powers, and in future of new disarmament measures and agreements. In consideration of the fact that negotiations are not a substitute for actions taken with the participation of the other states emphasis was placed on the particular importance of manysided efforts, of debates and negotiations in multilateral negotiating bodies among which the Geneva conference plays a particular role and has special responsibilities.

Sharing the concern voiced by other delegations over the continuation of nuclear tests, the Romanian representative declared for an as soon as possible passage to a thorough analysis and complete negotiations on the drafting and conclusion of a treaty on a general ban on nuclear tests.

Support was also expressed to the proposal of six non-aligned countries on the amendment of the provisions of the Moscow treaty of 1963 banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water by extending this ban on underground tests as well so that all nuclear tests be banned. The Romanian representative spoke for effective measures regarding the renunciation of outer space militarization ensuring its use for peaceful purposes exclusively. It was shown that palpable measures for the reduction and liquidation of nuclear weapons should be paralleled by the banning and elimination of all arms of mass destruction, chemical weapons included. Tangible proposals were advanced regarding the content of the draft convention on the banning and elimination of chemical weapons so that the future regulation should ensure the attainment of its fundamental goals without affecting, in any way, the progress of every country's peaceful chemical industry, international cooperation in this domain.

Khristov Attends Turkey's International Fair

Received by Prime Minister Ozal

AU2708200988 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] This year 18 foreign trade and engineering organizations from Bulgaria are taking part in the Izmir International Fair. The Bulgarian electronics and engineering exhibits are attracting particularly great interest.

Khristo Khristov, first deputy minister of foreign economic relations of Bulgaria, attended the official opening of the fair. This is being assessed in Turkey as a new positive stage in the development of Bulgarian-Turkish relations following the Belgrade meeting.

Khristo Khristov was received by Turgut Ozal, prime minister of Turkey.

Khristov Visit Positively Assessed

AU3108194288 Sofia BTA in English 1630 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Text] Izmir, August 28 (BTA)—At the Izmir International Fair this year, Bulgaria is represented by 18 foreign trade and engineering organizations. Particularly keen interest is shown in Bulgarian electronics and mechanical engineering.

The official opening of the fair was attended by Mr Khristo Khristov, first deputy minister of foreign economic relations of Bulgaria. This is assessed here as a new positive stage in the development of Bulgaro-Turkish relations following the Belgrade Balkan Foreign Ministers Meeting.

Mr Khristo Khristov was received by Mr Turgut Ozal, prime minister of Turkey. Their talk was covered by the Turkish media.

Bulgaro-Soviet-Turkish Gas Pipeline To Open

AU3108145688 Sofia BTA in English 1425 GMT 31 Aug 88

["Turkey To Get Soviet Gas Via Bulgaria"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, August 31 (BTA)—The Bulgaro-Soviet headquarters, set up in connection with the construction of the section running across Bulgarian territory of the USSR-Turkey transit natural gas pipeline, had its regular meeting here to consider the progress of construction work. The officials ascertained that with the pipeline building on schedule, it is already possible to start its operation.

The headquarters also discussed the preparations to extend the pipeline to neighbouring Greece.

Tanchev Meets GDR, Cuban Party Leaders

AU2608163988 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 25 Aug 88 pp 1,4

[Text] In Varna on 24 August Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] and first deputy chairman of the State Council, received Erwin Binder, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany [DBD].

During the talks it was noted that the traditional fraternal links between the BZNS and DBD contribute to expanding political, economic, and cultural relations between Bulgaria and the GDR.

Stress was laid on the service rendered to history by Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Erich Honecker in elevating to new heights the friendship and cooperation between our two socialist countries, both members of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA.

The two leaders emphasized the role of the consistent peace-loving policies of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the GDR in consolidating the new political thinking, developing the common European process, and intensifying the efforts to create nuclear-free zones in the Balkans and central Europe. They pointed out the great contribution of the world meeting of agrarian and other democratic parties and organizations in Sofia in 1986 and the international meeting on nuclear-free zones in Berlin in 1988 to stimulating influential political and social circles to the benefit of detente and the demilitarization of international relations.

Boris Chakurov, member of the Administrative Council of the BZNS, took part in the talks, which proceeded in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

In Varna on 24 August Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] and first deputy chairman of the State Council, also received Reuben Diaz, member of the National Leadership of the National Association of Small Farmers of Cuba (ANAP), and Angel Gonzalez, deputy chairman of ANAP in Matanzas Province.

During the talks satisfaction was voiced with the rising development of the traditional fraternal links between the BZNS and ANAP, which contribute to expanding the cooperation between the two countries and to rallying the agrarian and other democratic parties and organizations in the struggle for detente and social progress.

The participants in the talks stressed the historical service rendered by Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Fidel Castro to strengthening and elevating Bulgarian-Cuban relations, in the interest of both countries' dynamic socioeconomic development.

They stressed the contribution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to peace and good-neighborliness in the Balkans and Europe, and Cuba's role in the name of progress and solidarity of the Latin American countries and in achieving a just solution to the problem of the developing states' foreign debts.

Boris Chakurov, member of the Administrative Council of the BZNS, took part in the talks, which proceeded in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

Dmitrov Komsomol Activities Discussed

PRC Youth Delegation Meets Leaders

AU2608175988 Sofia BTA in English 1734 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Sofia, August 26 (BTA)—The visit which a delegation of the Communist Youth League of China led by Mr Song Defu, first secretary of the league's Central Committee, began here today, comes as further evidence of the shared willingness of the Bulgarian and Chinese youth to strengthen their cooperation. At a meeting of the delegation with the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Young Communist League (DKMS), the sides expressed a desire to use the favourable opportunities for a diversification of youth cooperation.

Mr Andrey Bundzhulov, first secretary of the CC of the DKMS, familiarized the guests with the main areas of DKMS work and with the enhancement of the league's role in public life. By reforming its structure and its style and methods of work, the Bulgarian Komsomol is gradually turning into a self-governing organisation which helps the young people find full scope for their self-fulfilment.

Mr Song Defu spoke about the new points in the work of the Communist Youth League of China. "Drawing lessons from the past, we are now seeking to upgrade the prestige of the youth organisation," the guest emphasized.

Zhivkov Meets Leaders, Vacationing Youth

AU2908122188 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Aug 88 p 1

[Report by BTA correspondents Georgi Kotarov and Sava Maslarov: "Reliable Power in Restructuring"]

[Excerpts] On 25 August in Primorsko Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman, met youth who are vacationing in the Black Sea youth capital. The meeting took place in a cordial atmosphere and pleasant mood.

The festive occasion also included businesslike talks about the place and responsibility of the Dimitrov Komsomol in restructuring our society. Youth groups from various countries filled the central alley and cordially greeted the Bulgarian party and state leader, thus expressing their sincere respect toward him and the BCP international traditions. Comrade Todor Zhivkov conducted informal talks with the young people. [passage omitted]

At a meeting between Comrade Todor Zhivkov and the leadership of the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Komsomol, Andrey Bundzhulov, first secretary of the Dimitrov Komsomol Central Committee, spoke about the tasks, which the Dimitrov Komsomol is now implementing. Those tasks are related to the Komsomol's role and place in putting into effect the July Concept on further constructing socialism in Bulgaria. He spoke in detail about the changes in the organization's activity and about the conditions, which have been created, for the active participation of the youth in restructuring.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov spoke about some issues related to the country's development. He pointed out that the processes of revolutionary renewal require new thinking, unconventional approaches, and highly qualified cadres.

The meeting was attended by Nikolay Zhishev, first secretary of the BCP Burgas Oblast Committee.

Import, Conditions of Socialist Pluralism Viewed

AU3008133788 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 29 Aug 88 pp 4, 5

[Article by Prof Velichko Dobryanov, Ph.D. : "Socialist Pluralism"]

[Excerpts] The answer to the question of whether pluralism has always had a place in society, whether it refers only to opinions or also includes other social phenomena, and most importantly, whether it is an inevitable and necessary phenomenon in modern society, depends, as is the case with many other questions, on the content, scope, and essence invested in this concept. The theoretical clarification of the concept requires that we discover its relationship with the basic categories of sociology—property, government, social structure, equality and inequality, democratic centralism, democracy, values, and so forth.

In my view the basic characteristics of the concept of pluralism are as follows:

First, the existence of real social differences among people;

Second, the existence of objective preconditions, which presuppose that people are socially equal in certain aspects;

Third, the assertion of the idea of social equality in mass awareness, even when this only applies to certain specific relations;

Fourth, the existence of a system of democratic mechanisms which guarantees the social equality of unequal social subjects in certain relations.

Only when the four symptoms exist simultaneously does pluralism begin to emerge to a certain degree as a social characteristic during certain stages of social development. [passage omitted]

Until recently pluralism was regarded in the socialist countries as a reactionary bourgeois concept, whose ultimate goal was to gloss over the contradictions of capitalism and generate ideological subversion against socialism. In the final account it most frequently was interpreted as an appeal for a multiparty system and as a disguised attempt to revive antisocialist ideas and movements. There was a time when such an one-sided approach to interpreting the concept was evident in the attitude to sociology, when, if we want to recall certain sad periods, even cybernetics and genetics were considered reactionary bourgeois pseudosciences. The truth is that the specific content and essence of a certain concept of social science is formed under the strong influence of certain social classes and groups. However, it is also a scientific concept, which synthesizes the universal cognitive and social experience. Therefore, the social concepts to which the concept of pluralism belongs, have a universal cultural and specific historical content and essence. Both the superiority of capitalism over the societies that preceded it and its historical limitations are expressed in bourgeois pluralism and in bourgeois democracy in general. As social practices they are biased, formal, and illusionary in certain decisive points. However, at the same time, they have been formed by social conflict and the cultural development of social mechanisms, which play a basic role in the reformist development of the bourgeois societies, taking the edge off social antagonisms, and extracting positive stimuli from these antagonisms for the accelerated development of the scientific-technical revolution. Wherever and to whatever degree pluralism exists in the capitalist countries, it is always a product of the real social struggles of the people's masses and progressive public, a product skillfully utilized by the ruling classes.

From a theoretical and historical point of view the socialist society, which is based on the determining role of public property and the principles of democracy and humanism, creates the necessary social and ideological preconditions for the better and fuller practice of a new type of pluralism—socialist pluralism. Overcoming the melting pot of the Civil War, imperialist intervention, and military communism, the USSR developed in the twenties a universal democratic and people's pluralism, which was expressed in the New Economic Policy, the real everyday people's government role of the soviets, and the dynamic political, scientific, aesthetic, and other discussions. This pluralism gave a powerful impetus to the economic, social, and cultural development, and won the hopes and sympathy of the world democratic thought.

However, the social concepts have a specific historical content, even under socialism. The personality cult, limiting and smothering democracy, and the socioeconomic and political deformation of socialism inevitably affected the ideological life of society. Monopoly and pluralism are antipodes. Monopoly in the government leads to monopoly in the economy (disposing of and utilizing socialist property), and monopoly in culture and in forming ideological and psychological stereotypes of thought and behavior. Bureaucratic supercentralism is inevitably an antidemocratic and dogmatic notion.

The dogmatic way of thinking under the conditions of the personality cult views unity of thought as a single-track concept with highly ideological connotations: differences in ideas, opinions, and in thinking in general are interpreted solely on the basis of "for or against socialism." As if within the framework of the socialist ideology there is no broad and ever growing room for differences, different expressions, and democratic exchanges, which increase the degree of social and ideological unity! Restricted and silenced, differences in opinions and ideas cannot disappear, but emerge in a unique manner—as "street" or "marketplace" pluralism, which often consists of rumors, jokes, and slanders. When persecuted, differences of ideas appear between two individuals, move from one person to another, and fill the vacuum created by the lack of glasnost and openness [otkritost] with incomplete information. Thus a division appears in social consciousness, mentality, and behavior. Officially—there is complete unity of thought, whereas in practice—there emerges an increasing variety of differences, opinions, assessments, and moods, which find their appropriate expression in everyday behavior: decreased labor and civil activity, less discipline, and intensification of various deviations.

Negating, silencing, and persecuting pluralism is an essential sign of retreating from the original Marxist principles of socialism, and from the practice and ideological heritage of Leninism. It is hardly accidental that the efforts to renew socialism and develop democracy and glasnost lead by their internal logic to expanding the scope of public pluralism. It becomes both a consequence and precondition of a real and profound revolutionary restructuring of society. In their essence the economic reforms, which assert multiple forms of socialist property and equal partnership relations between self-managing production and territorial communities, create the socioeconomic foundation of socialist pluralism. Pluralism is also asserting itself in the sphere of social management, where it is expressed in the real proposal of many candidates from the bottom, selection between several candidates for the appropriate official posts from top to bottom, the principle of mandate, openness, public control, and so forth.

Pluralism in ideas, opinions, and proposals is a very important, and in certain sense, an initial element of the system of socialist pluralism. However, this system does not limit itself to this element only. This is so because the expression of opinions, without actively participating in the process of their implementation, cannot evoke that revolutionary energy and social activity of the masses, which turns into the only reliable guarantee of the success and irreversibility of the process of restructuring. Pluralism is not a social safety-valve—let the people talk, thus they will feel better. It is a mechanism for expressing the real multitude of interests, values, aspirations, ideas, and activities, and a mechanism for the self-development of active civil and labor positions and the formation of a sense for partnership, duty, and respect.

Social pluralism can develop as a real force for social progress, first of all as real pluralism and a real social attitude, and not as a regular fashionable ideological slogan. It is hardly accidental that with the strengthening of the restructuring of socialism pluralism is ever more broadly manifested in practice and is becoming a criterion and catalyst of the processes of renewal. The July Concept of socialism and the comprehensive social situation in our country are facilitating the development of pluralism. Naturally, the tongue possesses a relative independence vis-a-vis practice. It already is easier to talk about pluralism than to implement it. Real pluralism can remain underdeveloped and deformed even when the most insistent appeal for opinions and proposals exists, if real conditions for its development are not created. These conditions include glasnost, information, open criticism, the opportunity to respond, open discussions under equal conditions, the principles of election and mandate, and so forth.

Pluralism in society does not, however, mean irresponsibility, immunity from punishment, or anarchism. It does not represent a shapeless, irresponsible plurality of opinions that paralyzes unity of thought and action. Pluralism is merely a democratic way for achieving genuine unity of thought and action, for finding the most correct and democratic solutions, and for creating social resources for implementing them. With regard to its content, nature, and functions, socialist pluralism must develop as monistic pluralism, with a plurality of ideas and proposals, a democratic approach in adopting decisions, and unity of action in carrying them out. More pluralism implies more social discipline and civic responsibility, more unity of thought and action.

Socialist pluralism is not an invention of the mind, nor a result of the benevolence of far-sighted leaders; it is an inevitable product of social development, a product with deep roots in society and ideas. The level attained by the forces of production creates the need for varied forms of property. On this basis, society is characterized by a dynamic plurality of social viewpoints held by the people and an interwoven plurality of social relations. The pluralism of social relations also forms the basis for intellectual pluralism. The social subjects do not act blindly, but are guided by certain notions about goals, conditions, and consequences of behavior. The effectiveness of social activity depends on the extent to which it conforms to the objective natural laws governing the functioning and development of society. It is the aim of the social sciences to discover these law-governed relationships and to propose adequate social technologies. However, this, important though it is, represents only one source—and not always a reliable one—for practical orientation. Individuals and groups listen to the specialists' recommendations, but they are guided by their own life experiences and their own immediate interests. In essence, learning about society takes place in different forms and at various levels, involving scientific and ideological study, life experience, and common sense. This is the inevitable cognitive basis for pluralism of opinions, ideas, proposals, and associated actions.

However, intellectual pluralism is not restricted to people's cognitive activity. The wealth and variety of the social base and cultural traditions provide a foundation for a plurality of varied artistic forms and genres, styles and tastes, and different beliefs and predilections. In this sense socialist pluralism means discovering and developing man's richness in his practical and intellectual activities, in the manifold variety of his social relations, and in his role as a creator of social life.

Chnoupek FRG Visit Termed 'Important' Event

LD3109225388 Prague CTK in English
1530 GMT 31 Aug 88

[By Karel Filek]

[Text] Prague Aug 31 (CTK)—The visit of Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek to the Federal Republic of Germany which ended Tuesday was another important event in the continuing political dialogue between the two countries.

Of great significance is the fact that West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher was the first foreign minister of a non-socialist country to welcome the Czechoslovak proposal to create a zone of confidence, cooperation and good-neighbour relations on the line dividing the Warsaw Treaty and NATO member states.

Though the two countries have different stands on some issues such as for instance the proposal of Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic to create a zone without chemical weapons in central Europe, Czechoslovakia evaluates mostly positively others stands of West Germany from the latest period, for instance the decision on Pershing-1A missiles, and its positive approach to the Vienna consultations on a mandate for talks on control of conventional armament in Europe.

A certain concern is aroused in Czechoslovakia by integration tendencies in the military, political and economic spheres in Western Europe. In this connection, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek voiced the conviction that the creation of the united market of the European Economic Community planned from January 1, 1993 [date as received] will not have a negative influence on the Helsinki process.

Both sides stated that the two countries' economic cooperation has been favourably developing. The annual turnover amounts to 4,500 million marks and has a rising tendency.

The West German side has come with several interesting proposals. The firms Volkswagen and Porsche expressed interest in sales of engines for the Czechoslovak Skoda Favorit cars. The firm Drupp has offered sales of older railway wagons in a very good condition for one-third of their original price.

West German representatives also said that on the basis of the Czechoslovak request they will try to release technology of the Siemens firm for radio-relay connection between Czechoslovakia and West Germany whose exports have so far been blocked as they are on the list of "strategic goods" of the Cocom Committee.

Successfully developing is also cooperation in the environmental protection. In the Pocerady power station a desulphuriser of the Saarbergwerke-Holter-Lurgy firm is being built and another one of the firm Deutsche Babcock will be used in the power and heating plant in Trmice.

Experts hold talks on the purity of the Labe River and other ecological questions important not only for the two countries but also for the whole of central Europe.

Hopefully further prepared agreements—on the protection of investments, cultural centres, scientific-technological cooperation, a new border crossing and road transport—will be signed as soon as possible and will help improve the two countries' relations and further extension of cooperation in many spheres.

The talks conducted by Minister Chnoupek in West Germany have undoubtedly contributed to the strengthening of the constructive dialogue between the two countries which can and must play a significant role in strengthening mutual confidence, especially in central Europe, and in the construction of the common European home.

Husak Leaves for PRC, North Korea

LD0109085488 Prague CTK in English
0809 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] Prague Sept 1 (CTK)—Member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium and Czechoslovakia's President Gustav Husak left here today for official friendly visits to China and Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The visit to China is taking place at the invitation of Chinese President Yang Shangkun.

In DPRK, the Czechoslovak president will participate in celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the country's foundation at the invitation of the Korean Workers Party Central Committee and its general secretary and DPRK President Kim Il-song.

The Czechoslovak president is accompanied by member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium and Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Peter Colotka, Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek, and Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Jiri Nemec.

[Prague Domestic Service in Czech and 0700 GMT on 1 September carries a similar report on Husak's departure for the PRC and the DPRK, which notes that Frantisek Salda, head of the President's Office is also accompanying Husak. The report also notes that Husak was seen off by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal; and other members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium]

Jakes Greets Finnish Communists on Election

AU3108135888 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Aug 88 p 1

[CTK report in the " Receptions, Talks, Telegrams, Letters" column]

[Text] Prague— Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, has sent to Jouko Kajanoja and Yrjo Hakanen a congratulatory telegram on their election chairman and general secretary of the Finnish Communist Party (Unity).

Prices Official Talks With USSR Counterpart

LD3008215688 Prague CTK in English 1940 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow Aug 30 (CTK Correspondent)—Czechoslovak Minister Pavel Hrivnak, chairman of the Federal Prices Office, held here talks Monday and Tuesday with chairman of the Soviet State Committee on Prices Valentin Pavlov on mutual cooperation between the two countries' central prices offices.

The two ministers informed each other of the progress of the restructuring of the internal price mechanisms in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. They also discussed how the two countries' prices offices can actively contribute to the realization of the stimuli from the Budapest meeting of the Central Committee secretaries of fraternal parties and the 44th session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

Pavel Hrivnak and Valentin Pavlov also discussed the participation of Czechoslovak and Soviet prices offices in deepening Czechoslovak-Soviet economic cooperation and in making it more effective. In this connection they discussed the ways and possibilities of supporting the development of direct relations between Czechoslovak and Soviet economic organizations, including their joint progress in developing cooperation with third countries.

Polish Strike Causes Growing Losses

AU3108131188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Aug p 7

[Pavol Minarik Szczecin dispatch: "A Port in Shackles"]

[Text] Monday [29 August] was the 13th day of the strike in the port of Szczecin, in which 250 people seized control of all entrances to the docks, in which up to 2 weeks ago 6,000 people used to work every day. The cranes were still deserted on Monday and the rails of the docks' internal railroad were gathering rust. Everything here is standing still, only the losses are growing. [passage omitted]

There are 13 ships in the port that cannot get out and 7 more ships are waiting nearby to be allowed to enter the port. Among the ships that are stuck in the port is one from India with 20,000 metric tons of iron ore for our steel mills, Jiri Samek, head of the Cechofracht agency's Szczecin branch, says. Four more ships, with 55,000 metric tons of raw materials on board, have been redirected by us to Rostock and one to Hamburg. Our rail shipments in the direction of Szczecin have also been suspended since 19 August. There is no point in having freight cars with our cargo accumulate here, Comrade Samek says.

The almost 2 weeks of strikes are complicating shipments of cargo on the European North-South route, which is mainly used by [Poland's] foreign partners. The strike complicates the fulfillment of international contracts. [passage omitted] Foreign carriers have started to transfer their foreign exchange accounts elsewhere, which is one of the signs of loss of confidence. [passage omitted] The management of the port of Szczecin is aware of this. General Director Jan Wieclaw says in the Monday issue of GLOS SZCZECINSKI that, once the strike is over, it will be necessary to start from the beginning. First it will be necessary to renew trust and to persuade foreign clients to return to the port. Some partners have surely found other possibilities, or they will blackmail us to make us cut the tariff. [passage omitted] Hard days and weeks lie ahead of us, he said.

Nonetheless, so far there is no realistic chance of the strike's termination. During the Saturday [27 August] talks between the management of the port and the strikers it became apparent that the strikers are not in the least concerned with economic demands—which the management accepted—but that they are after the complete legalization of "Solidarity," including the "Solidarity" of private farmers. Such demands speak for themselves; they tell all about who stage-manages the strikers in the port of Szczecin, about who it is that is hiding behind their backs.

Nations Upset by New U.S. Trade Bill

AU2908131188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Aug 88 p 7

[Ladislav Alster commentary: "A Bill With a Big Stick"]

[Text] The new U.S. trade bill took 3 years to come into being and its passage through the two chambers of the U.S. Congress had dragged on and was often very stormy. President Reagan had vetoed the first version of the draft bill. He regarded the articles assigning companies the duty of informing employees at least 60 days in advance about reorganizations or extensive unessential personnel as a "restriction of entrepreneurs' freedom," and he insisted that the articles be left out. He signed the amended draft bill on Tuesday [23 August] and thus the bill went into effect. One can say that the bill brings the greatest changes in U.S. trade policy since Word War II, however, they are not for the better. The bill was met with sharp and sometimes even indignant criticism in almost all capitalist countries.

Japanese Prime Minister Takeshita and other Japanese representatives said that the bill could have an unfavorable influence on the two countries' trade as well as on the development of the world economy. They criticized, in particular, Article 301 which allows rapid retaliatory action against countries which, in the opinion of American entrepreneurs, protect their own market against the competition with protectionist measures.

French Foreign Trade Minister Rausch called the bill an expression "of U.S. political imperialism." In any case, the bill is at variance with the GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) agreements, arrived at in the Uruguayan spa of Punta del Este in August 1986. There it was agreed that further trade barriers should not be introduced, and that disputes are to be resolved through negotiations and not by taking retaliatory measures. Of course, the important thing will be to what extent the United States will make use of the feared Article 301, particularly against Japan and the EC, but the concern is that in view of the chronic trade deficit, the United States will swing this big stick often. However, this stick is the proverbial stick which has two ends. It is definitely not a contribution to the liberalization of world trade in the spirit of the GATT agreements.

Further on Jakes Exhibition Visit

LD2908214088 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Excerpts] As we have already informed you, CPCZ Central Committee General Secretary Milos Jakes, is on a working visit to western Slovakia today. Editors Viliam Racek, Jan Smihula, and Ladislav Balko report:

[Correspondent] The first part of the visit was devoted to the 15th year of the nationwide agricultural exhibition Agrokomplex 88 in Nitra. Comrade Jakes was accompanied by Comrades Ignac Janak and Peter Colotka.

While viewing the exhibition, Comrade Jakes paid most attention to those dealing with the central topics of scientific-technical progress in agriculture and food production. To start with, he went to the a pavillion where research units and other institutions working on increasing crop and livestock production are showing the results of their work. Here he was interested in the results of the livestock production research unit in Nira. Within that unit, the Czechoslovak-Soviet biotechnology laboratory achieves very good results in increasing the quality of livestock while decreasing fodder consumption. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Jakes, in Czech] How many people work in your section?

[Unidentified worker, in Slovak] Twenty-nine people work in the laboratory but that is not all.

[Jakes, in Czech] What about supporting staff?

[Worker, in Slovak] At least 30 people in our place. There are more in Dubravica, Leningrad, and also at the Institute of Molecular Biology of the Academy of Sciences in Kharkov.

[Jakes, in Czech] And your experience so far?

[Worker, in Slovak] They are excellent.

[Jakes] What about social problems?

[Worker, in Slovak] No social problems. I could say more about the need to have a more flexible supply of some technical equipment. [sentence indistinct] [end recording]

[Announcer] Comrade Milos Jakes then visited the exhibitions of prominent Agrokombinats Slusovice and Lehnice. In a discussion with the chairman of the Lehnice Cooperative, Alexander (?Andrasi), he showed interest in the involvement of research staff in implementing the results of scientific-technical progress in practice.

Comrade Milos Jakes then viewed the expositions of the food industry enterprises which concentrated on good nutrition. He praised the level of innovation and the quality of foodstuffs. In this connection, he spoke about the need for exhibited products, for example, beef and others, to reach shops as soon as possible.

While looking at the exposition of the Agrokomplex, the general secretary praised the modernization of mechanization of livestock and crop production and the methods by which, for example, agricultural workers from western Slovakia along with partners from CEMA cntries and nonsocialist countries want to produce highly productive machinery.

Comrade Jakes emphasized the inevitability of closer links between science, cooperation, and specialization in agriculture while visiting the CEMA countries expositions.

At the end of the visit to the Agrokomplex exhibition in Nitra, our highest party representatives, state farms, and directors of food processing enterprises of the region.

To start with, girls in folk costumes presented him with harvest wreaths and new bread. Then a discussion started about topical tasks in agriculture in this stage of restructuring the economic mechanism. Chairman of farming cooperatives, cultivators, representatives of agricultural education institutions, and food producers spoke about possibilities of speeding up scientific-technical progress, new methods of management, and also about the individual approach of every worker to better quality and more efficiency in production.

Comrade Milos Jakes said in the discussion:

[Begin Jakes recording] There are two prominent problems. The first one is the quality of production and the second—we have already mentioned it—the pressure to reduce production costs. We have seen here today the components which lead to it. Science means application in practice through cultivation, but it also means qualified managers and people's general agricultural activity. Technology and machinery are very important; they are fundamental. However, most important for the final result is the attitude of the people, how well they can use their knowledge and how much they want to make good use of it. Naturally, this is also connected with continuously paying much attention to improving qualifications of senior management and researchers—simply everybody in this area. This will be very important in connection with restructuring. I think that this exhibition is a good stimulus for initiating work in the entire field of agriculture, of the entire food processing industry, for showing the real state of affairs and also realistic ways to move forward.

Questions concerning changes in food quality are very interesting. Those issues are exceptionally important. Today we still do not see how very important they are from the viewpoint of health and this will influence agriculture. Take ecological issues. The important is realized but not enough has been done in this field. The importance is also immense. These issues are indicated here, the directions which we will follow and what should be done. The exhibition is all in all a kind of summary of everything we have achieved so far and provides stimuli for future work. These stimuli are not unrealistic; they are based on experience [word indistinct] and on findings of science at home and abroad. [end recording]

At the end, Comrade Jakes thanked western Slovak agricultural workers who substantially contribute to meeting the public's needs.

Comrade Jakes then went to Plastika Nitra enterprise. [passage omitted] Comrade Jakes spoke to workers Julia Molnarova and Elena Pezov. He was interested in their work and in their social and working conditions. [passage omitted]

On the way to the conference hall of national enterprise Plastika Nitra, the director of the enterprise informed Comrade Jakes in detail about the social program, among other things about making work easier. [passage omitted]

At the meeting with enterprise representatives which ended today's visit to Plastika Nitra, speedier introduction of scientific findings in practice and ways to improve efficiency and quality of production were discussed.

Defense Minister Issues Order of Day

AU3108113088 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Aug 88 p 2

[CTK report: "From the Order of the Day of the Minister of National Defense"]

[Text] Prague—The CSSR Minister of National Defense has issued the Order of the Day on the 44th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising, which states, among other things:

Forty-four years ago, on 29 August 1944, the Slovak National Uprising erupted. It was one of the most massive antifascist actions in occupied Europe. The heroic struggle of the Soviet people against fascist Germany, and the victorious liberation advance of the Soviet Army, were the decisive factors which created conditions for the launching of this mighty armed operation.

The viability of the ideas of the Slovak National Uprising and of the entire national liberation struggle is documented by our fatherland's socialist present. Currently our people, and with them also members of the Czechoslovak People's Army [CSLA], are carrying out an extensive program of the acceleration of the social and economic development of our country, which was set by the 17th CPCZ Congress. They are responsibly approaching the elaboration and the realization of the conclusions of the Seventh and the Ninth CPCZ Central Committee sessions on the restructuring of the economic mechanism and the democratization of society.

The development of the international situation is important for the implementation of the determined tasks. Some favorable trends have appeared thanks to the foreign policy of the USSR and the countries of the socialist community. However, we cannot succumb to pacifist ideas and forget that in the United States and other NATO states there exist forces that continue to count on political and military confrontation, continue feverish arms buildup, preparations for war, and are trying with ideological subversion to destabilize the internal situation in the socialist countries. Therefore, it is necessary to continue responsibly ensuring the defense capability of our state, strengthening the combat and political preparedness of the CSLA and the alliance with the armies of the member states of the Warsaw Pact defensive union.

Government Approves Single Exchange Rate

LD0109043388 Prague CTK in English 1744 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Prague Aug 31 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Government at its plenary session here today discussed and approved a bill linked to its previous decision to introduce a single exchange rate for the Czechoslovak crown in relation to foreign currencies.

The exchange rate has as yet been set on the basis of the content of pure gold in one crown. However, individual states have gradually abandoned gold as the basis of monetary units and the International Monetary Fund banned this relation in 1978. Therefore it was necessary to create a new legal basis. The exchange rate will be set by the Czechoslovak Government as from January 1, 1989, and will be adjusted when necessary, according to approved principles, on the basis of relations between foreign and home prices and other indicators of value by the Czechoslovak state bank. The bill, to be submitted for discussion to the Federal Assembly, is part of the restructuring of the economic mechanism in Czechoslovakia.

Daily Reports Latest PZPR CC Session

AU3108111788 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Aug 88 p 6

[Pavol Minarik article: "PZPR Central Committee Discusses the Situation in the Country; Search for Real Solutions"—passages in boldface as published]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The PZPR Central Committee then continued with a discussion, in which the participants stressed that **although the current strikes are slowly petering out, their causes remain. The mistakes that occurred after the referendum or the elections in the national councils, when only superficial analyses were made, which did not reflect the real state of affairs, must not be repeated.** A considerable number of discussants described the proposal to freeze prices and wages as a bad solution, because this would reduce the motivating role of wages and, moreover, would not be agreeable to the private sector. **In the past the strikes created a perception among some of the people there that wages do not depend on work done, but on the intensity of protests.** The following question was asked, too: How to agitate the working people for their own benefit when people have the feeling that they are worse off? Those participating in the discussion stressed further that the solution of many serious problems is being postponed for later on, or their real solution is only being pretended. It is necessary to find effective solutions which would bring about the change of the management model. The young generation must become involved in the realization of the reform, because it has the greatest interest in changes, but it also is the most impatient and, also, most mistrustful.

Also disconcerting is that the organizers of the strikes, well paid by the West, are being unconcernedly tolerated. It is necessary to finally call them to account also for the material losses. After all, laws apply equally to all. The discussants also drew attention to the fact that **in addition to the monetary inflation, there also exists an inflation of words and deeds, which plays into the hands of the political opponent. A considerable part of the workers' demands is justified; also those who are not striking agree with them.** Should an improvement in supplies not occur, this fact, unfortunately, will be fully misused against the state bodies. It has become a habit that if the workers class wants to achieve some changes benefiting it, it must radicalize itself. This is its answer to the growing bureaucracy, arrogance, and superficiality. In the discussion it was said that **the proposal to work out a stabilization plan within 3 months is not satisfactory. It is necessary to substantially accelerate this process, because after this year's second strike wave has ended, the third one, even more dangerous, could come.** The majority of the discussants criticized the government for inconsistently introducing the reform, for making an inadequate use of its extraordinary powers, for the unsuccessful radical operation of raising prices and incomes, and the deterioration of supplies. Government representatives, including Premier Messner, engaged in polemics with these views in the course of the discussion, and enumerated the causes of the current state of affairs. They stressed that the implementation plan of the reform is being fulfilled, but one needs more time for more marked changes and a tranquil and responsible work, and noted that what has not been produced cannot be distributed. [passage omitted]

Beno Addresses Anniversary Rally in Lubina

LD2808215788 Prague Domestic Sevice in Czech 1930 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Excerpt] Citizens gathered in many places in our country today at peace rallies linked with celebrating the 44th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising.

Mikulas Beno, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, addressed a rally at Roh hill near Lubina, attended by inhabitants of Trencin district. He said that we have now entered the historic path of the revolutionary restructuring of socialism, without which the acceleration of economic and social development and the achievement of a new quality of social progress would be unthinkable. He stressed that the comitted participation of every man who is convinced about the correctness of our policy is considered to be the decisive factor. [passage omitted]

Pitra Addresses Agricultural Seminar on Economy

LD2908171388 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1200 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] A 2-day national seminar on restructuring the economic mechanism in the conditions of the agricultural and food complex opened in Prague today. Frantisek Pitra, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, concerned himself with the current economic development. In connection with the balance sheet of the agricultural and food complex, he said that its existing development is assessed positively in comparison with the other branches of the national economy. This does not of course mean that a number of negative phenomena have not also occurred to this branch. A great deal of work must be done to bring about stability in agricultural production.

Frantisek Pitra described the priority growth of crop production as the basic strategic aim of structural changes in the agricultural sector. Great risks flow from the existing unsatisfactory dynamism of crop production for the stabilization of the attained level of self-sufficiency, above all in cereals. He went on to note shortcomings in specific items of foodstuffs for sale in stores, and he stressed the need to observe regulation on foodstuffs quality and their fitness for human consumption.

Frantisek Pitra underlined the need for the plan for the period of 1989-90 to be prepared well and explained in detail some fundamental issues connected with the restructuring of the economic mechanism.

Celebrations Held for Slovak Uprising Day

LD2908220488 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1800 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Gala meetings in Prague and Bratislava held this afternoon were the culmination of celebrations of the 44th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising.

A delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee, the Central Committee of the National Front and the Federal Government at the meeting in the Valdstejn Palace in Prague was led by Josef Kempny, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Czech National Council.

Tomas Travnicek, deputy chairman of the Central Committee of the National Front, in the main address, stressed the historic bequest of the Slovak national uprising and dealt in detail with topical tasks of the economic and social restructuring in the implementation that entails the deepening of socialist democracy and the active participation of citizens in the creation, implementation and control of policies are coming to the foreground.

The meeting in the concert hall of Czechoslovak radio in Bratislava was attended by members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium—Ignac Janak, first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee; and Peter Colotka, the Slovak Premier; and other representatives.

Gejza Slapka, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, in his address, stressed that just like in the period of the Slovak National Uprising the patriotic commitment of our people, their determination to solve problems of the qualitatively new stage of the socialist development, also assume today exceptional importance.

Honecker Sends Condolence Message to Kohl
AU3108112588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Aug 88 p 1

[Text] Berlin (ND)—On Monday [29 August], Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, sent the following condolence cable to FRG Chancellor Dr Helmut Kohl:

I express to you my sympathy for the serious accident near Ramstein. Please convey to the relatives of the victims my deeply felt condolences.

Erich Honecker
SED Central Committee General Secretary
GDR State Council Chairman

Honecker Sends Message to Finnish Communists
AU3108112688 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Aug 88 p 1

[Text] Berlin (ND)—The SED Central Committee sent the following greetings message to the Finnish Communist Party in Helsinki:

Dear Comrades!

The SED Central Committee conveys to you and all Finnish Communists fraternal combat greetings on the occasion of the 70th founding anniversary of the Finnish Communist Party.

Born in the revolutionary struggles of the Finnish proletariat under the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, the Finnish Communist Party has always proved to be a consistent defender of the interests of the working people in towns and villages and of all democratic forces in Finland. Its persistent support for an active Finnish peace policy, for good neighborhood and friendship with the Soviet Union meets with international respect and recognition.

The Communists of the GDR and Finland share the traditions of many years of joint struggle against war and imperialist reaction. Now our parties, together with all forces that are guided by common sense and realism, are doing everything in their power to prevent a nuclear holocaust, halt the arms race, and free the world of all nuclear weapons. The socialist community's peace strategy has given this struggle a strong impetus.

The GDR will continue to actively contribute its share to the cause of peace and security for the peoples. On the basis of the resolutions adopted by the 11th SED Congress, we are always guided by the principle that the better peace is safeguarded, the stronger socialism is.

Dear Finnish Comrades, we follow your efforts very closely in working out an effective strategy and policy to implement the social, democratic, and national interests of the working people in your country, for which the unity of the Communists is a decisive prerequisite.

We assure you that the GDR Communists will always be close, reliable friends and fellow fighters.

With Communist greetings
SED Central Committee
E Honecker
General Secretary

Further on Guyana's Foreign Minister's Visit

Fischer Toasts Jackson
AU3108120088 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Aug 88 p 6

[Toast by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer at a dinner given in honor of Rashleigh Esmond Jackson, foreign minister of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana, in Berlin on 29 August: "A Change for the Better Is Emerging Because of the Work of All Peace Forces"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Minister, dear friends and comrades:

It is a great pleasure for me to once again cordially welcome you, Comrade Minister, and your entourage.

Your official visit is an outstanding event in the long-standing good relations between our states.

The GDR appreciates the work of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana within the Nonaligned Movement.

Choosing your capital city, Georgetown, as the venue for last year's extraordinary meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the Nonaligned Movement on questions concerning Latin America and the Caribbean, paid tribute to your country's fruitful participation in this movement, which spans all continents.

The socialist German state is following with sympathetic understanding Guyana's efforts to establish a zone of peace in the Caribbean and its work for equal and mutually beneficial cooperation.

We note with satisfaction that the work of all forces in East and West, North and South, that are interested in peace, disarmament, and detente has caused a change for the better to emerge in international relations. It is encouraging that the implementation of the U.S.-USSR Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles has constituted a first step toward real disarmament. Now it is necessary that all forces of reason and realism act with determination so that further significant steps are taken. The process of disarmament that has just started must be made irreversible.

The 50-percent reduction of U.S. and Soviet strategic nuclear weapons, the signing of an agreement on a general nuclear test ban, and the conclusion of a convention on the elimination of chemical weapons are priority issues.

This does not, however, mean renouncing those numerous opportunities for partial disarmament, for foregoing the modernization of weapons, or for further measures to strengthen trust and security, which could be already used regionally or even more extensively to guarantee a lasting peace. This was expressly affirmed by the meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee in the Polish capital a few weeks ago. It adopted a program that consists of several stages—the elimination of the imbalances and asymmetries and the reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces by one-quarter respectively—and aims at banishing the danger of war once and for all in Europe, the region with the highest concentration of troops and armaments in the world, and at substituting the principle of "security through controlled mutual disarmament and cooperation" for the dangerous concept of "security through deterrence."

In this connection, I would like to recall the International Meeting on Nuclear-Free Zones, which took place in Berlin a few weeks ago at the initiative of Erich Honecker, our highest representative.

We were happy to be able to welcome Vice President Chandisingh as the personal envoy of Comrade Hugh Desmond Hoyte, chairman of the People's National Congress and President of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana.

Dear friends and comrades, the GDR is in favor of solving contentious issues—no matter how complicated they are—and conflicts—no matter how serious and extended they are—at the negotiating table. This is possible if goodwill exists for this and if the legitimate interests of all parties involved are taken into consideration.

In the Gulf region the cease-fire and the direct negotiations that have been started between Iraq and Iran offer a real chance to find a peaceful and definite solution to this conflict. At the same time, this strengthens world peace.

The negotiations between representatives of Angola, Cuba, South Africa, and the United States to eliminate the hotbed of conflict in southern Africa are also important. They are certainly also a result of the international solidarity with the independent states in this region, as well as with the African National Congress and the South-West African People's Organization.

The GDR categorically condemns the misanthropic apartheid regime in South Africa, which violates international law, in the same way as you, dear colleague, did at the meeting of the foreign ministers from eight Commonwealth states in Toronto at the beginning of August.

The GDR is of the opinion that the Central American conflicts, too, could be solved with the goodwill of all parties involved.

With the Guatemala agreement, the states of this region made an important step toward reducing confrontation and achieving a just settlement of the Central American conflict. This development was welcomed all over the world.

The Nicaraguan Government has introduced a great number of exemplary steps to strictly implement the agreed obligations. We firmly stand at the side of Nicaragua, which has to defend itself against armed interference by the contras who are funded and controlled from the outside. The work of the Contadora Group and the Support Group is of great importance to a peaceful settlement.

Our country appreciates the friendly relations with revolutionary Cuba and its activities that strengthen peace and security.

The GDR is in favor of a speedy comprehensive and just peace settlement in the Middle East. This would be served by a speedy convocation of an international Middle East conference under UN aegis and with the PLO as an equal partner.

Esteemed Comrade Minister, dear comrades and friends:

The relations between the GDR and the Cooperative Republic of Guyana are developing steadily and well; they serve the welfare of our two peoples. In this respect, decisive stimuli were provided by the visit to our country of our unforgotten friend and Comrade Linden Forbes Burnham, former president of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana, 10 years ago.

Numerous accords and agreements as well as high-level political contacts are proof of the mutual efforts to make the bilateral relations even more varied and fruitful. There is no doubt that economic cooperation plays a priority role in this connection. Guyana's participation in the Leipzig fair has already become a good tradition.

Numerous citizens of your country have concluded vocational or university training in the GDR. Products from one country are firm parts of the national economy of the other, and vice versa. The GDR accords particular importance to the close cooperation in the United Nations and to regular bilateral consultations between

the Foreign Ministries. Thus, our meeting here in Berlin, Comrade Minister, has been preceded by regular meetings at the fringe of UN plenary sessions.

There is also longstanding cooperation in the scientific field. In this connection, I do not want to neglect recalling a special historical link. Scientific descriptions of Guyana—which is called "Land of the Many Waters" by the Indian natives—were published by the brothers Robert and Richard Schomburg from Querfurt and Freyburg as a result of their travels during the thirties and forties of the past century.

Esteemed Comrade Minister, esteemed guests:

Our talks are characterized by the responsibility for peace that is borne by all states regardless of their size and political importance.

It has once more been demonstrated that our bilateral relations have a solid basis. There are good preconditions to further develop them in a fruitful way and for mutual benefit.

Your visit to the GDR, Comrade Minister, will certainly provide new stimuli to this development.

I ask you, esteemed guests, to raise your glasses with me and to drink to

—a peaceful future of the peoples;

—the further fruitful development of the friendly cooperation between our states;

—your health, esteemed Comrade Minister, and the health of your entourage and all those present here.

Honecker Greets Jackson

LD3108171288 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1203 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Berlin, 31 Aug (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, today received Rashleigh Esmond Jackson, foreign minister of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana and member of the Central Committee of the National People's Assembly.

The guest conveyed cordial greetings from Hugh Desmond Hoyte, chairman of the National People's Assembly and president of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana, which were reciprocated by Erich Honecker.

The two welcomed the good level achieved in bilateral relations. The far-reaching agreement of both states on the basic questions of our time forms a favorable basis for strengthening them even more.

In view of the continuing complicated interantional situation, dialogue takes on special significance. It was due to the joint actions of all forces of reason and realism that a change for the better is beginning to be discernable in international relations. All states, large and small, have a great responsibility to safeguard the world from nuclear war.

The implementation of the agreement on elimination of medium- and short-range missiles between the USSR and the United States is an initial step toward abolishing all nuclear weapons. Now the 50 percent reduction of U.S. and Soviet strategic nuclear weapons and agreement on the banning of all nuclear tests and the elimination of chemical weapons are on the international political agenda.

Erich Honecker briefed the guest on the Warsaw meeting of the Political Consultative Committee. He pointed out that the statement on negotiations to reduce the armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe represents a new offer to negotiate by the socialist states. This offer has been welcomed with approval by peace-loving forces throughout the world. A constructive response from NATO, however, is still outstanding.

Erich Honecker stressed that the GDR is doing everything to consolidate peace and security and to continue the disarmament process. He paid tribute to the simultaneous efforts by the Nonaligned Movement, in which Guyana has a respected role.

Guyana's foreign minister explained his government's attitude toward fundamental international questions and the situation in the Caribbean and explained his country's active role in the Nonaligned Movement. His country supports comprehensive disarmament, because only in a peaceful world can the problems of development be finally solved. His country attaches great significance to comprehensive cooperation with the GDR and the other socialist countries and in this sense his visit is a further step.

The two briefed each other on social development in their countries and affirmed their intention to strengthen political, economic, and cultural relations.

Taking part in the talk, which was conducted in a cordial atmosphere, were GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer and GDR State Council Secretary Heinz Eichler. Present was Guyana's ambassador to the GDR Malcolm Leroy Parris.

Stoph Receives Jackson

LD3108172988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1521 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Berlin, 31 Aug (ADN)—Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received Rashleigh Esmond Jackson, foreign minister of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana, on Wednesday for a talk.

Willi Stoph explained to the guest the GDR's economic and social policy, which is aimed at ensuring the people's well-being. He stressed that the GDR needs nothing more urgently than peace in order to secure its development. For that reason, GDR suports all initiatives and suggestions which make peace in the world more secure.

Rashleigh Esmond Jackson explained his government's attitude toward the fundamental questions of our time. He stressed the broad agreement of his country, which is active in the Nonaligned Movement, with the political positions of the GDR and other socialist states.

Willi Stoph and Rashleigh Esmond Jackson positively assessed bilateral relations. Economic cooperation in particular offers further good opportunities for intensifying bilateral relations to the advantage of both states, something that was made clear at the most recent meeting of the joint economic commission in Georgetown in February.

GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer took part in the friendly talk. Also present was Malcolm Parris, Guyana's ambassador to the GDR.

Stoph Receives Czech, Slovak Ministers

LD3108100488 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1514 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Berlin, 30 Aug (ADN)—Willi Stoph, Chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, today received Czech Justice Minister Dr Antonin Kaspar, and Slovak Deputy Justice Minister Dr Milos Barta.

During the friendly meeting the partners in the talk paid tribute to the high level of relations between the two countries. They noted in this connection the consistent implementation of the agreements aimed at further developing bilateral relations, reached as a result of the meeting between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, in March 1988.

Willi Stoph briefed his guests on the realization of the 11th SED Congress decisions. He noted in particular the character of the workers' and farmers' state as a socialist state governed by the rule of law, the expansion of socialist democracy and the contribution of the judicial organs to the further shaping of a developed socialist society.

Dr Antonin Kaspar for his part explained the results and further tasks in the realization of the decisions of the 17th CPCZ Congress, aimed at speeding up the CSSR's socioeconomic development.

Discussing international problems, the partners in the talk stressed the significance of the proposals made by the recent meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee aimed at preserving and consolidating peace and speeding up the process of disarmament and trust-building in Europe. The CSSR and the GDR will continue to work imaginatively for the creation of a common house of Europe.

Taking part in the meeting was Dr Hans-Joachim Heusinger, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and minister of justice. Also present was Frantisek Langer, CSSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in the GDR.

Kessler Receives Syrian Military Delegation

AU3108133988 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Aug 88 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Army General Heinz Kessler, SED Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense, received a delegation of the Syrian Armed Forces on Monday [29 August]. It is led by Division General Ali Malahifji [name as published], chief of the Air Force/Air Defense.

During the friendly meeting in the Defense Ministry, both sides paid tribute to the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between the GDR and Syrian peoples and forces. In the course of the talks Army General Heinz Kessler said that it is an important concern to exclude war once and for all from the life of human society. The GDR working people and soldiers will continue to make an active contribution in this respect.

Discussing the situation in the Middle East, the defense minister expressed the GDR's considerable satisfaction with the cease-fire between Iraq and Iran. He confirmed the GDR's view that a political solution to the conflict, brought about through dialogue and common sense, serves detente in the whole region. In this sense, the socialist German state will support the struggle of Syria and all Arab peoples against aggression and for a just and comprehensive peace, Kessler said.

Colonel General Wolfgang Reinhold, deputy minister of national defense and chief of the Air Force/Air Defense of the National People's Army, took part in the meeting.

Sindermann Receives PRK Special Envoy

LD3108124388 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1042 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Berlin, 31 Aug (ADN)—Horst Sindermann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and president of the GDR People's Chamber, received Chea Sim, member of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party (KPRP) Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Kampuchea [PRK] and chairman of the Kampuchean United Front for National Construction and Defense, in Berlin for a talk today.

As special ambassador of Heng Samrin, general secretary of the KPRP Central Committee and chairman of the PRK State Council, Chea Sim conveyed the latter's greetings to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and GDR State Council Chairman. Chea Sim gave information about the situation in and around Kampuchea following the informal meeting aimed at solving the Kampuchea question in July this year in Jakarta-/Bogor, about the realization of the policy of national reconciliation, and about the situation in southeast Asia.

During the extensive exchange of views both partners in the talk stressed that the current favorable trends in international relations have a positive impact on deepening the process of detente and the peaceful settlement of contentious questions. It is necessary to make irreversible and worldwide the change for the better that has begun and to achieve a political solution to all existing conflicts.

Horst Sindermann spoke about the GDR's policy aimed at the consolidation of peace, security, and trust in international relations and at the implementation of further concrete disarmament steps. He affirmed that the GDR regards the Jakarta/Bogor meeting as an important step on the way to a political solution to the Kampuchean question. It also contributes to the further development of dialogue in the region with the aim of taking steps which take account of the vital interests of the Kampuchean people and all its neighbors and serve the normalization of the situation in southeast Asia.

The people of the GDR stand firmly at the side of the Kampuchean people in their struggle for a happy future on the basis of the policy of national reconciliation. Both constructive dialogue and the common search for ways of securing peace are marks of responsible political action today. Horst Sindermann and Chea Sim agreed that the relations of fraternal friendship and diverse cooperation between the GDR and the PRK are constantly developing and deepening in the interest of peace and social progress.

Special ambassador Chea Sim expressed thanks for the affirmation of solidarity assistance and support by the GDR, which is a valuable contribution to the creation of a peaceful, independent, and nonaligned Kampuchea.

Taking part in the talk, which took place in a friendly and frank atmosphere, were the representative of Foreign Minister Ewald Moldt, Vice President of the National Council of the National Front Werner Kirchhoff, and the ambassador of the PRK in the GDR, Meas Sip [name as received].

This evening Horst Sindermann is giving a dinner in honor of the special ambassador.

Joint Ventures With FRG, USSR Planned

AU3108144688 Bonn DIE WELT in German 31 Aug 88 p 5

[Werner Kahl article: "East Berlin Seeks Joint-Venture Cooperation With Bonn and Moscow"]

[Text] Berlin—Addressing German affairs policy experts of the CDU/CSU [Christian Democratic Union-/Christian Social Union] Bundestag group in East Berlin 1 week before the opening of the Leipzig Trade Fair, the SED's economic expert Juergen Nitz called for new impulses for the declining intra-German trade and at the same time made proposals for trilateral joint ventures between the GDR, the Soviet Union, and the FRG.

"The GDR now admits that it has considerable economic problems and is pondering ways of reversing the negative trend," Eduard Lintner, CDU/CSU German affairs spokesman, declared in an interview with DIE WELT in East Berlin. Bundestag deputies Wilfried Boehm (CDU), Hans Graf Huyn (CSU), Gerhard Reddemann (CDU), as well as the Berlin Bundestag deputy Gerhard Schulze (CDU) also participated in the several hours of discussion with eight scientists from the GDR International Politics and Economics Institute (IPW).

The East Berlin economist considers the decline in intra-German trade to be only a "temporary effect of price development on the world market." "We would like to buy more and cooperate more," Nitz said at the IPW's premises in East Berlin. However, the GDR leaders attach a number of expectations to this, Nitz said. In talks with the members of the German affairs policy working group, the IPW described as "irritating" an ordinance issued in 1949 by the then Allied Military Governments in the west zones, which is still effective today. Allied Law No 53 has regulated intra-German trade since the founding of the two states in Germany. The transfer of foreign currency has been banned ever since. For legal reasons, to this day it has not been possible to participate in joint ventures, Nitz said, adding that he finds this "irritating."

In looking for high technology, East Berlin scientist are pondering ways of how to take security requirements into account. High tech machinery and equipment, which can be put to both nonmilitary—as in modern laundries and cleaning agencies—and military use, could be "sealed" when being delivered to the East, the economist said. "What we would like most, of course," he added, "would be a complete abolition of the list of the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Control (Cocom)"

With regard to joint ventures, the GDR is seeking "trilateral cooperation." It emerged from the discussion that East Berlin is envisaging joint GDR-USSR- FRG projects.

In the near future, the GDR also wants to benefit from the single European market as of 1992, without renouncing its privileges in intra-German trade. After all, there is a "special German situation, and we both benefit from it," the economic expert said.

The chairman of the GDR trade association, Professor Freund (SED), also rejected "pessimistic reports on the intra-German trade balance for the first 6 months of 1988." "Currently we are not dissatisfied with the result," Freund said yesterday [30 August] at working talks with the CDU/CSU delegation in the GDR's International Trade Center in East Berlin. The question now is how a "strong impulse" can be provided "to return to a higher turnover again," he added.

Budapest Factory Workers Stop Work Over Manager

Workers Demand Independence

LD3108104588 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Workers of the Budapest subsidiary of the Granvisus factory [producer of lenses and optical equipment] suspended work this morning. They demand independence and protest against the replacement of their director.

Demands Considered, Work Resumes

LD3108143688 Budapest MTI in English 1407 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 31 (MTI)—The 250 employees of the Budapest affiliate of the Granvisus factory of optical means stopped work at a quarter past six in the morning on Wednesday. The work stoppage was caused by a Tuesday decision of the manager of Granvisus, who dismissed Istvan Toth, the affiliate's manager, and expelled him from his workplace. Since the workers said that Istvan Toth fulfilled his duties for four years to their satisfaction, they demanded to restore him to his post, and make the affiliate independent from the parent company.

A competent official of the Ministry of Industry, Jozsef Grossmann, secretary of the 13th district party committee, and a representative of the ironworkers' union arrived at the spot in the morning. After some hours of talks the employees came to agreement with the manager of the parent firm who announced that he restored Istvan Toth to his managerial post.

The representative of the Ministry of Industry promised that the ministry would thoroughly examine the request for independence of the Budapest affiliate. After a seven-hour work stoppage, the employees resumed work at 13.15 p.m.

Tatai Criticizes Enterprise Regulation

LD2508195088 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 25 Aug 88

[Text] Enterprises cannot be forced to engage in loss-making activities even on the basis of interstate agreements, because in these agreements the state accepts exclusive responsibility. This was said by Ilona Tatai, member of the Politburo and managing director of the Taurus enterprise, in a meeting with economic leaders of Vas County. In reply to a question she said that the continued crippling of enterprises through regulators must finally be stopped. She also spoke about wage reform concepts and said that the changes require surplus revenue, but not enough signs of the greater productivity needed for this can be detected at present.

Presidential Council Meets, Asks Assembly Session

LD2608212288 Budapest MTI in English 1322 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 26 (MTI)—On Friday the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic held a session, and convened parliament for 6 p.m., October 10.

The agenda of the parliament session proposed by the Council of Ministers:

The bill on economic associations and the entrepreneurial profit tax

Amendment of the law on the general value-added tax and the personal income tax

Report on the situation of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project

Report on the state of streamlining parliament's order of regulations.

Following the discussions of the parliamentary committees, the Presidential Council amended the previous legal rule on housing cooperatives and passed a law decree on the introduction of the deposit certificate.

In future housing cooperative may also handle surroundings and construction and maintenance of communal facilities. It will be possible to set up housing cooperatives so flats in a house are cooperative property and the member is entitled to permanent use of the flat. The law decree is to become effective on October 1.

The deposit certificate, which serves medium-term savings by the population, companies and cooperatives, can be issued by banks and specialized financial institutes. The new interest-bearing and transferable security has a maturity of 1-3 years. The regulation comes into force on September 15.

The Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic appointed Andras Knopp under-secretary of state for the Ministry of Education and Culture as of September 1, 1988.

Ministers on Social Security, Sick Pay, Taxes

AU3008091888 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 26 Aug 88 pp 1,5

[MTI report: "Council of Ministers Holds Session—Pension of Retired People Over 70 To Be Increased by 2 Percent Beginning With October This Year—The Government Counts on A 17 Percent Inflation in 1988—Decision on Modifying the Sick Pay Regulations—Principles of Social Security—Proposals on Economic Associations, Entrepreneurial Income Tax—Government Spokesman Gyorgy Marosan Holds Press Conference"—with the participation of Social Welfare and Health Minister Judit Csehak and Finance Minister Miklos Villanyi, in Budapest on 25 August]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] MAGYAR HIRLAP: What social security allowances and what guarantees does the

government intend to provide in the first year of the current reform, that is, at the beginning of restructuring? Are there concrete concepts in this respect?

[Csehak] Social security incomes are lower than expenditures this year. While preparing the plan for 1989, we are trying to make sure that social security is not only able to cover its expenditures by means of increased payments and support from state taxes, but also to possess a considerable amount of risk funds. We are negotiating with the Finance Ministry to provide assets for social security: institutions, sanatoriums, and capital which will compensate for the reserves that could not be set up in previous years. [passage omitted]

NEPSZABADSAG: Among the planned resource increases of the pension reform, much has been said and stressed about the increase in retirement age. Has the Council of Ministers discussed this issue in its current meeting?

[Csehak] The Council of Ministers has limited itself and taken into consideration its capacity for burdens, and thus it has not discussed this issue. We worked out the principles of the pension reform years ago and we were promised that the parliamentary committees would begin discussing this issue in the fall. I think you understand that it is perhaps more appropriate to begin with making the social security system independent, and once the independent framework of social security is outlined and the issue of employment policy also becomes clear, the Council of Ministers will be able to decide on the pension issue in a broader sense. [passage omitted]

NEPSZAVA: Is the allowance for long-term service counted in the sick pay scheme?

[Villanyi] In coordination with the trade unions, we adopted a version in which the profit payments at the end of the year, on-time allowances, and allowances paid for long-term service do not count in calculating the basis for short-term sick pay up to 31 days. However, these will continue to be taken into consideration in calculating long-term sick pay. [passage omitted]

Answering a question, Miklos Villanyi mentioned the fact that experts had begun work on personal income tables and that the government had adopted the position to modify the extent of tax breaks in accordance with next year's consumer price index. [passage omitted]

Budapest Committee Elects Secretaries

LD2908223888 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] The Budapest Party Committee has two new secretaries: Arnold Steiner, head of the Third District Party Committee, and Janos Barabas, a Central Committee Department deputy chairman. They were elected secretaries by the Budapest Party Committee. One was elected to a post vacated earlier, the other to replace a secretary who has been relieved of his post. Istvan Hajdu, with recognition of his abilities, was relieved of his post because he will be receiving another important assignment.

Youth Union Approves National Conference, Policy

LD2808034788 Budapest MTI in English 1725 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 27 (MTI)—The Central Committee of the Communist Youth Union of Hungary [CYUH] at its two day session, which ended on Saturday, confirmed its previous decision to summon a national conference on November 18-20 at Szekesfehervar. After lively debate and according to the selection procedure of the deputies, it was decided that the elected office holders should participate as deputies at the conference.

The Central Committee provided mandate and opportunity for organizing groups within the CYUH for the discussion of issues and the elaboration of a joint stand and calling of forums of different levels. The body called attention to the fact that this grassroots initiated organizational process should not lead to the disruption of the CYUH. The CC decided to later determine the election authority of the CYUH conference.

The CYUH CC approved the proposal for the streamlining of the party's youth policy and the final elaboration of the proposal was commissioned to Csaba Hamori, HSWP Political Committee and first secretary of the CYUH CC.

Finally the body nominated Gyorgy Szabo, the deputy head of the CYUH CC international department as the representative of the CYUH at the World Federation of Democratic Youth [WFDY] and he is to fulfil, according to tradition, the post of the WFDY general secretary. Gyorgy Szabo was also elected member of the CYUH CC and the CYUH CC secretariat.

Szabo Interviewed on Status of Agriculture

LD2508212088 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1705 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Interview with Istvan Szabo, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the National Council of Agricultural Cooperatives (TOT), by reporter Bela Gyori—date and place not given; live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Gyori] How would you describe Hungarian agriculture, now in the summer of 1988?

[Szabo] I consider Hungarian agriculture as good. I do not consider it outstanding nor do I consider it to be weak. It is my decided opinion that an agriculture which can, in national terms, produce over 5 tonnes of wheat,

an agriculture which produces 220 kilograms of living meat per inhabitant, an agriculture where there is a buyers' market for food, vegetables, melons, eggs and naturally meat, too, deserves to be described as good.

There are tensions in agriculture, too: stocks of cattle and sheep are going down; one-third represents roughly 25 percent of cultivable land, and around 20 percent of agricultural means. We know about the amortization of some of the animal rearing sites, although it is true that in this area, in 1986 and 1987, a favorable development commenced, investment returned to favor. So, taking all this into account, Hungarian agriculture, in my opinion—but this is also the opinion of the TOT Presidium—deserves to be referred to as agriculture of a good standard.

[Gyori] According to studies from various sources, the agricultural sector in all the CEMA member states has gotten into crisis. Among the crisis areas, these studies list Hungarian agriculture, too. It is true that here these signs of crisis showed a very different picture than in Poland, Romania, or even in Soviet agriculture where it is first of all the productivity of agriculture that causes problems. For our agriculture, they point to—quite rightly I think—the lack of income-generating capacity.

[Szabo] Yes, this can be debated. First of all, as to whether agriculture is a crisis area, or whether within agriculture say, meat production has reached a crisis, or wheat production. I do not like to speak about the agriculture of the other socialist countries, because I do not know the inner relations well enough. But, if I look at the agriculture and foodstuff production problems of the Soviet Union or Bulgarian agriculture, their problems are caused by the fact that they cannot satisfy their own people on a buyers market from domestic agricultural production: They need to export, and this causes problems.

We can satisfy our people with agricultural goods, and I think that the primary task of this agriculture is to satisfy the people on a high level with foodstuffs. But our agriculture, besides this, is also an agriculture which is export oriented. And it cannot be denied that since the world market for agrarian products is depressed—I mean wheat and meat, too, almost all goods—then we are able to sell our products with great state subsidies, on depressed prices. Our economists, and we, too, almost agree that there are sectors which have reached crisis point on the international market, not at home.

[Gyori] Is it conceivable that in 1989, Hungarian agriculture will not be able to produce enough of certain products, and that there will be shortages on Hungarian markets, too?

[Szabo] I do not believe this will be true for 1989, but there are warning signs. [passage omitted] It is a warning that our beef stock is decreasing in large numbers, and within this, the number of cattle is stagnating, too. And despite the fact that our milk yield per cow is increasing, we may have worries in the coming period if the government does not take care with domestic milk supply. But I think this can be prepared for, and this problem can be avoided.

[Gyori] The general mood of consumers...

[Szabo interrupts] As for the consumer here, in Hungary, in the coming year or years, I cannot believe that there will be foodstuff supply problems.

[Gyori] The solvent demand is naturally a different question, that is, who can buy what?

[Szabo] Naturally, we must (?calculate) this as a function of the solvent demand, that is, how much is domestic consumption. For with the household plot, small production which exists in Hungary, the amount we have consumed cannot be seen just on goods which have been bought in state or cooperative trade. We will see at the end of the year what the meat consumption will be. I do not see a great reduction regarding consumption in either eggs, milk, or meat production.

[Gyori] There are many uncertainties in the mood of producers.

[Szabo] True, there are worries. There are about 400-450 agricultural cooperatives and state farms in difficult situations, which have low incomes. Of these 400-450, there are around 200 farms whose income producing capacity is so low they cannot avoid using up assets. [passage omitted] We cannot really count on, or count on at all, expanded new production for these farms in 1987, 1988, nor 1989. [passage omitted]

[Szabo] It is not a matter of indifference what kind of agrarian policy there will be in the country, how our villages become depopulated. I think at present, taking the country's economic situation, that we cannot count on great regrouping. From a social point of view, from the point of view of general feeling, agrarian policy must do everything so that the workforce which cannot be mobilized in other areas of the people's economy, should, in villages, in the country, with a combination of common and household plots, participate in social production. [passage omitted]

[Gyori] You went to Israel as an enterprise representative, but you are still a Politburo member and you were in Israel.

[Szabo] Yes, I was in Israel, and I was received there as a Politburo member. First, I met with the agriculture minister there, Comrade Vancsa's [Hungarian minister of food and agriculture] colleague; I met with the president of the Economic Chamber; I met with the general secretary of the trade unions, the workers' union; and I

met with the foreign minister and the prime minister, too. I told them that further advance in economic areas would be desirable, and that they also showed willingness for this.

[Gyori] Obviously, these talks and these meetings had a different content, too, but this is not the subject and matter of this conversation. However, this subject and trip shows that the sphere of movement of the Hungarian economy must be increased under all circumstances and in all respects, and this goes for agriculture, too. If the sphere of movement of agriculture does not increase, then there are problems.

[Szabo] Yes, and I would like to say here that it is not that we were not able to learn from Western Europe, for we import combine harvesters from there, but for example, as regards great fields and farms, we had to go to the United States.

And as regards the elite farms of Hungarian agriculture—I am thinking here of Babolna and Nadudvar, but I could also mention Mezohegyes or others, too—and if we look at our seed grain, our types of corn, their origins are in the United States. In the past, too, we purchased some of our tractors from there, from the United States. We also brought the Holstein-Friesian stock in from the United States as well. So, Hungarian agriculture is quite rightly in close contact with the United States. We had to realize in Israel that we could purchase a series of things from them, too, and if we can choose between two markets, that cannot be disadvantageous for the buyer.

Hungarian agriculture, in my opinion, must continue this production. This natural endowment which exists in Hungary from the point of view of agricultural production must be seen as a capital asset, and we must use this to the maximum in the coming period, too. Our foreign traders must do everything, well, primarily the Soviet market must be taken into account, but more markets; and the foreign traders must do everything to be able to sell profitably that foodstuff surplus which we do not use up at home.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 12-18 Aug

AU2608141088 [Editorial Report] Budapest newspapers in Hungarian from 13 to 19 August report on the public appearances of the following leaders (source, date, and page number of each report is given in parentheses):

MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Lenard Pal paid a working visit to Csongrad County and conferred with local party and enterprise leaders on 12 August. (NEPSZABADSAG, 13 Aug, p 4)

MSZMP General Secretary and Premier Karoly Grosz received Ambassador Istvan Varga, head of the Hungarian UN representation; date and place not given. (MAGYAR HIRLAP, 15 Aug, p 7)

MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Matyas Szuros participated in a reception held at the Indian Embassy in Budapest on the occasion of India's national day on 15 August. (NEPSZABADSAG, 16 Aug, p 8)

MSZMP Politburo Member and Social and Health Affairs Minister Judit Csehaka opened the 2d Hungarian Medical Science Conference in Budapest on 16 August. (NEPSZABADSAG, 17 Aug, p 5)

MSZMP Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Janos Berecz paid a working visit to Szabolcs-Szatmar County and spoke at the dedication of a new fuel pumping station in Rakamz on 18 August. (NEPSZABADSAG, 19 Aug, p 3)

Briefs

Fertilizer, Some Food Prices To Rise

As of Thursday, fertilizers will be 25 percent more expensive. The National Material and Price Office said that the rise in production costs, the reduction of state support, and the rise in the price gap in fertilizer circulation are the cause for fertilizers costing more beginning in September. The affect of the price rise on inhabitants will be discernible in the next month, when several foodstuffs will become more expensive. [Text] [*LD3108032288 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0430 GMT 30 Aug 88*]

$50 Million World Bank Credit Given

The Hungarian National Bank received a $50 million World Bank credit for technological development. A technological development program office has been established to monitor the implementation of this program. Its task is to mediate between the World Bank and the Hungarian banks and enterprises. [Excerpt] [*AU3008093088 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 25 Aug p 5*]

FRG Official Visits for Reform Talks

Otto Lambsdorff, FDP [Free Democratic Party] economic policy spokesman and former federal economic minister, arrived in Budapest on 28 August at the invitation of Deputy Premier Jozsef Marjai. He is expected to hold talks on Hungarian reform efforts, bilateral economic relations, and topical world economic issues. [Excerpts] [*AU3008093188 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 29 Aug 88 p 5*]

French Nuclear Experts Visit

A delegation of French nuclear experts headed by members of the government commission for nuclear energy visited Hungary from August 23 to 26. The delegation included representatives of the major enterprises constructing and operating nuclear power plants and manufacturing equipment for them. The delegation held

talks with experts of the National Atomic Energy Commission, the Ministry of Industry, the Ministry of Construction and Town Planning, and Enterprises. The talks were aimed at further developing Hungarian-French technical and scientific cooperation in the peaceful use of nuclear energy, and exploring the possibilities of industrial cooperation. The French delegation visited the Paks nuclear power plant and stated that their experience justified the favourable opinion of the international professional public on the Hungarian plant. The representatives of the National Atomic Energy Commission and the French Government Commission for Nuclear Research signed a joint work programme for the three years to come. The heads of the delegation met academician Pal Tetenyi, president of the State Office for Technical Development, and Laszlo Kapolyi, government commissioner of the Council of Ministers. [Text] [*LD2708022588 Budapest MTI in English 1606 GMT 26 Aug 88*]

Hungarian Escapes to Austria

On 22 August, Gabor Loerinczy, a 36-year-old Hungarian, fled to Austria in a hang glider he had built himself. Starting at 0400, he flew over the Iron Curtain and landed near Miedlingsdorf, Oberwart District, late in the morning. [Summary] [*AU2308083888 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 23 Aug 88 p 5*]

Walesa Calls For Negotiations, End to Strikes

LD3108205888 Hamburg DPA in German 2038 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Gdansk, (DPA)—Polish workers' leader Lech Walesa called for an end to the strikes on Wednesday evening. On his return from talks with Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak, one of his advisers in Gdansk read a declaration in which he calls on all strike committees to terminate the strike. The declaration said that he had taken it on, on behalf of the strike committees, to talk with the authorities about their fundamental principle of the readmission of the trade union Solidarity, which is banned in Poland.

Walesa had decided that "we should interrupt the present strike action." Walesa appealed to all strike committees to conclude the negotiations with the managements of the enterprises on other problems and to end the strikes. Immediately after his return from Warsaw he went to the Gdansk Lenin shipyard in order to talk with the strike committee there. His spokesman Tadeusz Mazowiecki gave the assurance that this declaration had been sent by telex to all strike committees.

Strike Situation Unchanged 31 Aug

LD3108213888 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] The strike situation has not changed. The illegal strike in the "July Manifesto" mine in Jastrzebie-Zdroj is continuing. The Szczecin port is not working. The Gdansk and the Northern shipyards and the repair yard, and two departments of the marine commerical port in Gdansk are still strikebound. Some 1,400 people are taking part in the strike in the Stalowa Wola steelworks. The strikers tried again today to make it impossible for those who came to work to start working. Almost 4,000 workers had to return home.

Walesa-Led Workers Return to Work in Gdansk

Workers Approve Ending Strike

LD0109085288 Hamburg DPA in German 0752 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Excerpt] Gdansk (DPA)—The strike at the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk is due to end today at 1400 [1200 GMT]. At a meeting this morning with Lech Walesa, chairman of the banned trade union Solidarity, the workers approved a corresponding decision by the strike committee. It is reported in Gdansk that the strike committees in the other enterprises on strike in Poland are also said to be prepared to end their actions at 1400. There had been contacts to the other strike committees over night, it was reported.

The decision to end the strike was preceded by hard discussions. Workers' leader Walesa pointed out that it was now necessary to break off the strike. In reply to the repeated question from the workers what guarantees he had brought back for the legalization of Solidarity from his talk with Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak in Warsaw, Walesa said that the church, which had been involved in these talks, was also a guarantor. Prior to the ending of the strike, Walesa plans to speak again to the workers in the shipyard, which has been occupied for over 1 week. [passage omitted]

Shipyard Workers Expected To End Strike

LD0109082688 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 0800 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] It is expected that the strike in Gdansk will end today. The Interfactory Strike Committee [MKS] of the Gdansk shipyard has announced the strike will end and the workers leave the premises today at 1400.

Officials Discuss Strikes, Economy

LD0109090788 Warsaw PAP in English 0037 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] Gdansk, Aug. 31—The first meeting of the newly elected Presidium of the Voivodship People's Council in Gdansk with the chairmen of workers' councils of industrial enterprises was held here today. Present at the meeting were the Sejm deputies from the Gdansk region, trade union activists, and representatives of the voivodship administration.

The course of the meeting was affected by the unfavourable situation for the balance sheet of the Gdansk region budget. The ongoing illegal strikes in the shipyards and two districts of Gdansk port have been considerably decreasing the material contribution of the Gdansk region to this year's national income.

The inconsistency of legal regulations concerning the role and tasks of workers's self-management in the state-run enterprises was emphasized in the discussion.

The first secretary of the Gdansk Voivodship PUWP Committee, Marek Holdakowski emphasized that many questions raised in the discussion, including the ones which concern communal economy, power supplying, economic and credit- handling situation of enterprises, could have been matter-of-factly explicated at the away session of the Presidium of the Planning Commission which had been scheduled to take place in Gdansk by the turn of August. Yet, the debate had been adjourned for some other time because of the situation in the region. This short period should be utilized for the most efficient implementation of the 8th PUWP CC Plenum's resolution which so explicitly underlined the role of workers's self-management in the process of reforming the economy, Holdakowski said.

Shipyard Strike Ends 1 Sep

LD0109141488 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 01 Sep 88

[Text] As we have already reported, Lech Walesa today informed a meeting of the striking workers at the Gdansk Lenin shipyard about his talks with General Kiszczak and called for the strike to end by 1400 [1200 GMT]. Thirty minutes after this deadline, the strike at the Gdansk Lenin shipyard which has gone on for almost 2 weeks, came to an end. All the strikers left the shipyard. The workers at the first and fourth zones of the Maritime Trading Port in Gdansk also ended their strike.

Talks Continue With Szczecin Port, Depot Workers

Transport Strikes Update

LD3108120988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Here is the situation in the Voivodship Urban Transport Enterprise in Szczecin in brief: Talks commenced yesterday between the management of the enterprise and representatives of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union of Workers of the Voivodship Urban Transport Enterprise, the workers' council; and the working part of the labor force are continuing. The situation at the Dabie bus depot is unchanged.

Further on Situation

LD0109005688 Warsaw PAP in English 2254 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Szczecin, Aug. 31—The socio-political situation has not changed in Szczecin. The port and bus depot in Dabie have been strikebound for 15 days today. The losses due to ports standstill were estimated at 1.5 billion zlotys. The handling works were being continued at the Swinoujscie port.

There were 13 vessels today waiting to be unloaded in Szczecin, with six of them being moored since the beginning of the strike. There were eight ships in the roads. The strikers let the port workers unload 7,000 tons of citrus fruit out of 58,000 tons brought in one ship, and ventilate the rape load in the hold of another vessel.

Following an appeal by the management, 1,300 people turned out to resume work in the port but they were not let in by the strikers.

At the strike-ridden depot in Dabie there were still 200 buses inactive today, due to which five bus lines were still closed. The talks with the strikers were resumed but they ended in a fiasco.

Meanwhile, the management of the municipal transport enterprise held talks with representatives of the independent trade unions of employees of this enterprise and with workers who are not members of trade unions. They were discussing forty postulates connected with the economic state of the enterprise, improvement of the work organizing, system of wages and social and living conditions of workforce. The talks are expected to be concluded September 1st.

Port Talks Open 1 Sep

LD0109081788 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0712 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] Szczecin, Gdansk, Stalowa Wola. The strike situation at Szczecin Port, Gdansk shipyards, and Stalowa Wola steelworks has remained fundamentally unchanged. On the initiative of the Interenterprise Strike Committee talks with Szczecin port's management on the subject of the economic postulates began early this morning.

Port, Bus Depot Talks Open

LD0109093188 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 0800 GMT 01 Sep 88

[Text] The situation at Szczecin port remains unchanged. Today at 0800 [0600 GMT] the second round of talks commenced between the management and the strikers. After a break they were resumed at 1000. At the only striking bus depot at Szczecin-Dabie, today's talks also started at 1000. For the 3d day in a row, the Voivodship Urban Transport Enterprise (WPKM) management has also met with a group of workers who are not striking and are members of the trade union or are unaffiliated. Talks are continuing regarding the improvement of welfare conditions and wages.

Worker Unrest at 'July Manifesto' Continues

Miners on 'Right to Work'

LD3108202488 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Miners from the "July Manifesto" mine have written to Ombudsman Ewa Letowska. In their letter, they cite the constitutional right to work and ask how that right has been protected in light of the strikes and considering that a handful of known troublemakers continues to violate that right by not letting those who want to work into the mine.

The best reply to our simple question, the miners write, would be for you to immediately take effective measures to ensure our indisputable right to work.

The letter is signed by 68 miners from the "July Manifesto" mine.

'July Manifesto' Strikers To Be Fired

LD0109004888 Warsaw PAP in English
2249 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Katowice, Aug. 31—Every day of the illegal walkout at the "Manifest Lipcowy" [July Manifesto] colliery in Jastrzebie-Zdroj multiplies the losses by 12,200 tons of coal.

On Tuesday, at 22:15 hrs the most active striker Tadeusz Jedynak and a few other workers on strike used force to lead out of the mine one shift foreman of the preparatory works group—accepted earlier by the strike committee, under the pretext of his talking to one of the strikers. The fact was reported by the mine manager to the regional public prosecutor with the suggestion to undertake investigation into the case.

Tuesday morning saw bars around the pit and new passes were in operation. The mine employees came to collect their wages and meat coupons. They attentively listened to the manager who reiterated his appeal to people illegally staying at the site of the mine and to strikers to leave the pit by noon.

The stoppage has brought about such a situation underground that the mine simply must start to work tomorrow. The employees who fail to respond to my call will be sacked as of September 1 according to the announcement by the labour and social policy minister, the manager said. A response was heard: "Look, they are calling us to school". In the noon, singing and shouting were the answer to the communique. Among those standing in front of the pass office there were ex-strikers.

After 12:00 a communique was issued saying that following the reception of a letter and a statement from the strikers, the chief director of the hard coal community entitled investment manager of the Rybnik-Jastrzebie Mining Guild Jan Jadczyk to hold talks on those postulates which are strictly of mining character with the strike committee comprising only employees of "Manifest Lipcowy".

The talks started at 13:30 but were broken later on. At the beginning, they concerned the settling of conditions for the talks and next the giving of a guarantee of safety for the strikers and those who are staying in the pit illegally as well as issues linked with the remaining postulates excluding the first one—on trade unions pluralism, said spokesman for the community Antoni Pilny.

Asked about the technical state of the colliery, its chief engineer of work safety and training Tadeusz Korzynski said that six walls were in danger. Day by day we are observing the deteriorating state of extraction headings and galliers due to the ground pressure. There is a lot of work to be done while the work conditions and material supplies are going down, he said.

'July Manifesto' Miners Continue Strike

LD0109083588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
0500 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Excerpt] [Announcer] Over to Katowice.

[Unidentified correspondent] What is taking place in the "July Manifesto" mine can only be described as delay tactics by illegal strikers who, at every attempt made to undertake talks on ending the strike, put forward new conditions and demands. Their advisers—people who are not mine employees—take the lead: It is they who have been making decisions for many days. They impose their will on the group of about 80 miners at the "July Manifesto" mine, and make statements and demands. All appeals or arguments are of no avail. [passage omitted]

This morning, as was the case in the last few days, over 1,000 miners gathered at the gate. The small group of strikers is making it impossible for them to enter the workplace to undertake normal work. Time is passing; the strike continues; the mine is at standstill. A group of politicos—people from outside the mine—are making decisions, trying to win their own game.

TRYBUNA LUDU Views Strike Final Day

AU3108140388 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
29 Aug 88 p 2

[Report by Marek Rudnicki: "Reason Has Triumphed"]

[Excerpts] After announcing the end of the strike, Leslaw Szuwarski, the chairman of the Plant Strike Committee at the "30 Years of the Polish People's Republic" mine said: "We do not need any dead heroes."

Reason has triumphed. Just a few hours ago it was not possible to tell whether this was how everything was going to turn out. A large crowd of people who wanted to work, but could not had gathered outside the plant on Saturday afternoon, just as they had done on previous days. People had come to find out if anything had changed and to find out more about the explosion that had been reported on television and the radio over the last couple of hours.

This was also—I will be quite frank about it—the reason why I had come to the mine. The striking miners had said unanimously that there had been no explosion. One thing led to another, and we found ourselves talking about other subjects, particularly with the chairman of the Plant Strike Committee.

Are there any indications that there has been an explosion? The striking miners want information from independent sources. They have their own people who can check these things, it is just a question of management saying yes.

Is it true that they did not allow a column of vehicles needed to save the mine onto the site? No, they wanted to, but the mine director did not agree to this.

What about demands? Leslaw Szuwarski says that only one demand matters, the first one, that is, the registration of a new independent trade union. [passage omitted]

Shortly after 1700 district attorney Jozef Palka arrives at the mine and grants assurances that no action will be taken against striking miners if they leave of their own accord. The strike ends at 1900.

A little over an hour later, a column of miners calmly leaves the mine and heads for a nearby church. In the face of the danger that had arisen, their demands lost a lot of their importance.

Sejm Extraordinary Committee on Economic Reform

Messner, Sadowski, Others Speak

LD3108190388 Warsaw PAP in English 1637 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 31—The Sejm Extraordinary Committee for Economic Reform Implementation began 2-day debates today to review the government's reports on the execution of its special powers. The government also presented a report on the fulfilment of the tasks of the implementation program of the 2nd stage of economic reform till this mid-year.

The meeting is attended by Deputy Sejm speakers Elizbieta Gacek, Tadeusz Porebski and Marek Wieczorek. (Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski is taking part in the plenary debates of the main council of the United Peasant Party on the same day.)

Also present are Premier Zbigniew Messner, Vice Premier Zdzislaw Sadowski and Chairman of the NIK Supreme Board of Control Tadeusz Hupalowski. The participants also include representatives of the OPZZ Trade Union Alliance with its Vice Chairman Waclaw Martyniuk PRON activists of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth and experts.

Premier Messner was the first to take the floor.

The wave of unrest which we are living through in Poland sharpened the criticism especially of the government and state administration, Premier Zbigniew Messner said.

Irrespectively of the personal opinions of the members of the government to what extent the criticism is substantiated and to what extent it stems from emotions, it must be said that it is a political and social fact and that it cannot be shunned aside. Simply speaking, one cannot bury one's head in the sand.

We receive this criticism with great attention, we analyse it and draw conclusions from it for the current and future activities if it will be our tasks to realize them.

The criticism is inseparably followed by the element of responsibility for the realization of the policy being carried out. I want to say—and I said the same thing during the last PUWP CC plenum—that as far as personal responsibility is concerned, I do not intend to hide behind anybody's back. As prime minister I am personally responsible. I place myself at the party's disposal—as a Political Bureau member, and at the Sejm's disposal as prime minister elected by the Sejm. [Warsaw PAP in English at 1806 GMT retransmits this report on the Sejm Committee meeting but omits the three preceding sentences] However, I state once again that criticism and allegations must always be proved. Therefore, what is really the government's fault must be separated from that which stems from emotions.

This is why I ask that the evaluation of the realization of the second stage of the economic reform be looked at from two points of view.

First, from the formal point of view, that is, the realization of the assumptions of the program of reforms approved by the Sejm and announced to the public. I can say that the vast majority of the goals are being realized currently. The innumerous delays stem from, for example, difficulties in the preparation of these solutions.

The realization of the second stage of the reform must also be looked at from a second point of view: One must answer the question whether the hitherto actions contributed to the elimination of all inconsistencies and the formation of a qualitatively new model of economic relations in Poland. The answer to this question is not decidedly positive. One cannot decidedly reply yes or no. To put it differently: To the question whether we have led to a qualitatively new situation through the realization of the reform my answer as premier is: no. [PAP in English at 1806 GMT omits the preceding three sentences up to "my answer as premier is: no."]

Premier Messner went on:

Anyone critical of his activity will state that he makes mistakes regardless of what the reasons of the mistakes are—regardless of how much there are subjective and objective reasons. In case of the government's activities, the truth consists in the fact that it is impossible to implement everything in a way which is awaited by respective groups. Which of the undertakings do government members consider as the most failed. [sentence as received] There is no doubt that the price-income operation carried out this year ranks in the forefront.

Fascination with systemic solutions cannot overcast and does not overcast the day-to-day, painful problems of everyday life. We have also not arrived at mechanisms which determine the functioning of the administration

in favour of citizens. The main cause of the social mood is that the social perception of the economic situation diverges from the official statistics of the state of the economy. We understand these feelings and are drawing conclusions from them. One should however be aware of the fact that the government is first and foremost responsible for the implementation of strategic goals which determine the future of the country.

The second stage of economic reform is fully topical, both is goals and provisions. They base [as received] on an increase of social activity and initiatives, rendering economic parametres real, a deep restructuring. They must be continued because there are no other solutions of rationalizing the functioning of the economy. The program undoubtedly calls for an analysis and acceleration of some undertakings. One should also draw conclusions from the price-income operation which will bear impact on other adopted solutions.

But according to us the main obstacle for the implementation of reform—aside from the mistakes made by the government—is the resistance of matter [as received].

Of late we have started several activities to radicalize the adopted solutions.

For example, the need for intermediaries and their effectiveness is being proven. Nonetheless the argument of effectiveness is not sufficient. An assessment whether these links are needed by the economy or not is the basic criterion. We are also preparing several other decisions aimed in this direction.

We are at the same continuing with systemic solutions. A new tax system is being prepared, we are working on a new system of economic jurisdiction. We are counting on the Sejm to pass the bills soon, for example the draft law on economic activity. We will prepare the program of consolidating the economy in the 1989-1990 period in line with the decisions of the 8th plenum.

Next, the review of the documents presented by the government began with their concise summary and commentary conducted by Vice Premier Zdzislaw Sadowski.

Sadowski's Address [subhead]

The government has presented the Sejm with information on the application of special powers. This document deals in a subject-manner with all activities undertaken by the Council of Ministers since it was empowered with these powers, that is since last May.

Although the program of the 2nd stage is proceeding without delays, an atmosphere of failure has started to be spread around it almost immediately after it was adopted by the Sejm this February. This atmosphere has nothing in common with reality.

The price-income operation was indeed an important element of the program of the 2nd stage but only an element nevertheless. This is because the program has many goals. One of the key ones is to increase goods and services supplies and to boost initiative and enterprise. The creation of conditions for this is treated as the key direction in the program. It was put into effect through the introduction of new powers for enterprises and for enterprising and innovative action.

The very fact that opportunities were created cannot constitute a sufficient premise for an analysis of this effectiveness. For example, the use of facilitations in the lease system, the essence of which is tying state capital with individual initiative, is still limited. The cause of this is that initiative and enterprise depend not only on the opportunities which were created but also on the atmosphere, on the degree of confidence in the future which currently is far too insufficient.

We have not led to a basic change of economic relations and the system of the economy s functioning although we have clearly moved forward. There are several new forms. Some function well, others poorly. This is a quite normal phenomenon for processes of this kind. No general restructuring has taken place.

There is no fiasco of the program of the 2nd stage of reform although a question surfaces as to why such an atmosphere surfaces. It seems that the reformative process has entered a phase in which it lacks effectively functioning socio-political elements capable of reviving social forces, in turn leading to a broad and speedy implementation of decisions, to putting them into economic practice.

Market balance is currently the paramount matter. Its lack is thought to be the reason for the failure of the price-income operation. The current wave of strikes which entailed an atmosphere of market panic also bore a big impact in this respect. The situation is easing.

The government is counting on an honest evaluation of all elements of economic policy. We have also tabled documents pertaining to planning as well as intentions in the field of the price-income policy and structural changes. The documents are the working version of the assumptions of the Central Annual Plan for 1989 and the preliminary plans for 1990 as well as information for the Sejm on corrections of the national socio-economic plan for 1986-1990.

Work has already been started on the plan of consolidating the national economy. I express a view that in taking into account the directions expressed in the said documents after complementing them appropriately and adjusting them, we will be able to make use of them in constructing a plan of consolidating the national economy.

Hupalowski's Speech [subhead]

(Abridged) [subhead]

The chairman of the Supreme Board of Inspection (NIK) said that in the board's opinion on the realization of last year's plan and the state budget presented at the Sejm's July session attention was drawn to two determinants of the current regression and stagnation. One of them is Poland's increasing foreign debt and the second—the persisting market disequilibrium. The Sejm advised the acceleration of the necessary actions for the improvement of economic balance. However, it is difficult to expect that effects will be visible after two months, more so, since the difficulties were additionally aggravated by another wave of strikes.

The statement that the realization of the strategic goals set out in the five year plan demands, first and foremost, the re-establishment in the shortest possible time of a general economic balance, espcially on the consumer, investment and supply markets, remains valid. In a disequilibrium situation it is hard to expect in a short time the effects of the use of coercion and an improvement of management effectiveness. Instead, instruments which not not suit the assumptions of the reform, are sometimes applied.

In a situation where there is no economic pressure one cannot be amazed by the negative consequences with which we are faced. The basic reason of the failures is the introduction of economic-financial instruments without previously calculating all possible gains and losses "on paper." In effect it becomes necessary to introduce running corrections which hinder the functioning of the reform. The correct slogans which mention hard-to-get money and financing frequently are not reflected in practice. These phenomena deformed the economic and financial system of enterprises and hinder the carrying out of a reliable evalutation of their financial condition.

Hupalowski also referred to the deteriorating utilization of working time in the economy. Although last year the amount of working time increased by 0.2 percent the average loss of working time per employee amounted to 26 days. Furthermore, due to an increase of overtime and work on free Saturday's the flow of money onto the market increased considerably despite the fact that frequently output remained at an unchanged level and sometimes even fell.

Hupalowski also quoted the results of inspections concerning the realization of the law on enterprise wage systems. He said that non-abidance of the law is still one of the main causes of the incorrect wage situation.

Opinions of Sub-Committees [subhead]

Next, reports were presented of the four sub-committees which operate as parts of the extraordinary committee.

Deputy Tadeusz Bilinski (of the sub-committee for economic policy and restructuring of the economy) observed that a longer period of operation of the reform was necessary for an honest analysis of effectiveness of reformatory measures. Success is conditional upon consistent implementation of the adopted action programme.

While summing up the stand of his sub-committee, Deputy Bilinski said that the economic policy of recent years had not resulted in upgrading of management effectiveness and quality. Investment policy is completely inefficient and a legible tax policy is missing, while efforts are not focused upon priority economic tasks.

Deputy Malgorzata Niepokulczycka (of the sub-committee for market balancing) said: Enclosed in the governmental evaluation, the proposition about merely sectional threats to plan fulfilment would be reassuring if it were not for the fact that such (threatened) sections are very numerous, while many of them pertain to consumption goods.

Here is the gist of Deputy Niepokulczycka's conclusion: The five-year plan was supposed to reduce the inflation level to a one-digit figure by 1990. Attainment of that objective is unrealistic. There is a danger dormant that government declarations notwithstanding, prices will continue to carry the major burden of balancing the market.

Deputy Mieczyslaw Fracki (of the sub-committee for economic and financial system of economic units) offered a criticism of the number and instability of regulations as well as of the overactive tax system. He also assessed critically (for inconsistency) government actions which are supposed to result in bankruptcy of economically unviable enterprises.

Deputy Sylwester Zawadzki (of the sub-committee for adjustment of the course of legislative process to objectives of the reform) said that certain positive phenomena should be noted in the proposed new legislation, but that evaluating the situation generally, one could not speak about a qualitative change because economic legislation continues to be flooded with new regulations.

Previous fears whether the law on (special) powers (for the government) did not imply a retreat from the reform were not substantiated, but in many domains basic legal barriers were not broken through.

Vice-President of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) Waclaw Martyniuk entered polemics with Deputy Prime Minister Sadowski and said that the price and income operation was the fundamental issue, the visible tip of the economic iceberg.

Waclaw Martyniuk questioned also the opinion whereby the strike wave had resulted in a market supply drop. The drop, he said, occurred much earlier.

The OPZZ vice-president decided that the chief error of the concept of reforms, whose objectives were aprpoved of totally by trade movement, rested with its not being man-oriented, its failure to produce an improvement of the living standard and consumption, and its having no appeal for people, while there were no chances for progress if society did not identify itself with reform.

First Vice-Chairman of the Planning Commission Franciszek Kubiczek said that the situation was just the opposite and that consumption had grown by some 21 percent since 1982.

Professor Tomasz Afeltowicz (an expert) professed an opinion that conditions for success of the reform were inherent in ideological and political conduct of the authorities and society. And thus, it is imperative that reformatory economic and political measures be combined, with the latter being implemented first.

More on Messner, Sadowski Speeches

LD3108140488 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1211 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] [Announcer] We return to the start of today's deliberations in the parliament building. As we have already reported, the Sejm Extraordinary Commission has been deliberating since 1100. An introduction to today's and tomorrow's discussion was given by Premier Zbigniew Messner and Deputy Premier Zdzislaw Sadowski. Premier Messner concentrated on the plans being developed by the Council of Ministers for systemic solutions in the economy; but he also said:

[Begin Messner recording] What do we regard as the most unsuccessful aspect of the economy, we in the government? Well, this is answered in the criticism we hear. Without doubt the problem of price and income changes carried out this year takes first place. We failed to carry out certain evaluations of the weaknesses, the possibilities. We should have carried this out more critically, and at the very starting point this prices and incomes policy was already threatened with failure. We failed to pinpoint weaknesses in the mechanisms for creating resources for paying out remunerations. We also did not take sufficient note of the mechanisms that regulate the functioning of the problem of prices in our country, apart from regulated prices. In addition, another problem was significantly exacerbated, especially in the recent period: That is, the matter of the market, that causes people, at least in broad milieux of our people, large groups, to live with greater difficulty. This fascination with systemic solutions cannot and does not hide from us the current, often troublesome, problems that crop up in the life of our people. Finally, we did not get through to the mechanism conditioning the functioning of the administration for the good of our citizens. To be sure, we undertook a very decided experiment in this direction. Last year, in October the Sejm passed an appropriate law in this field. We had the Administrative Procedure Code. But we lacked the strength at the center, and also in the provinces, to bring about consistent adherance. The course of our experiences and the statements [as heard] is well-known. Of course, I cannot in my introductory speech characterize the negative phenomena. Professor Sadowski will surely do this. But in this, however, I see the main causes of the social mood, namely that there is a failure, even though the facts themselves in statistical perspective say something else. In other words, the social reception is at variance with the official statistics on the state of the economy. [end recording]

[Announcer] Deputy Premier Zdzislaw Sadowski spoke. Here are excerpts from his speech:

[Begin Sadowski recording] On the basis of the extaordinary powers, the government has so far carried out the liquidation of 21 state enterprises. Further enterprises are included in an analysis, and this process is being and will be continued further: 279 enterprises have been included in proposals for division, with the aim of increasing efficiency. More than 80 of these proposals have been implemented so far, which is not yet reflected in the report, as these implementation decisions were made in August. The extraordinary powers are thus being exploited for the assurance of the full and consistent implementation of the program of the second stage, despite mounting difficulties.

Although the program, according to the report, is being implemented without delay, nevertheless almost immediately after it was adopted by the Sejm in February it was surrounded in an atmosphere of failure. This has nothing to do with reality. However, the accusation is made that the prices and incomes policy was the essence of the program and it failed, which means that the whole program has failed. I would like to state that this is a total untruth. The prices and incomes maneuver was an important element of the program, but it was just a part of it. Let me recall that the program has in it a number of actions aimed at several goals.

One of its main goals is an increase in the supply of goods and services, and the stimulation of initiative and enterpreneurship in all sectors of the economy. This direction has been under implementation for the last few months, and we have introduced a number of new powers to enterprises, including the expansion of their capability for action. Examples are the widening of the scope of independence of enterprises by limiting the powers of the founding organs—which did take place—as well as an extensive expansion of the powers of self-governments by significant reduction in the number of the so-called specially important enterprises [as heard] extension of the rights of self-managements to appoint and recall directors, limits to the extensive range of compulsory intermediacy [obowiazkowe posrednictwo]

in trade in supply goods [artykuly zapatrzeniowe], introduction of freedom to resell the rationed goods in the trade among enterprises, introduction of unified evaluation based on very clear criteria principles of state enterprises in accordance with the guidelines of the program, setting in motion the antimonopoly organ [as heard], introduction of greatly expanded possibilities of using the system of agency in the running of service enterprises and production enterprises, and the creation of the possibilities of very broad and liberal development of [word indistinct] labor.

I am not mentioning others; I have listed actions from one sector only. I would like to recall that the implementation program for the second stage of reform is the program designed for 3 years, 3 difficult years, as was emphasized in a very honest and matter-of-fact way, in particular in the preparation of the November referendum. Three difficult years of austerity and difficulty, with a certain amount of going backward in the functioning of the economy—all this was presented in an extremely detailed way. Of course this is no excuse for any mistakes which have been committed. It is, however, part of the background, which is often forgotten in public debates and statements heard daily, forgotten so quickly, already only 6 months after the program was adopted.

Our reform process has entered a phase in which it can be seen clearly that it is devoid of efficiently functioning social and political mechanisms which would ensure the setting in motion of public forces that would lead to the rapid and extensive implementation of the decisions and introduction of these decisions to the economic practice, creating a social climate for their rapid introduction. The second main issue is, of course, the worsening of the market equilibrium, which is the basis for and the origins of this total criticism which I have mentioned. This worsening is attributed, in part correctly, to the failure of the prices and incomes maneuver. The third factor, which has to be spelled out clearly, is that in certain key sections falls in supply of market goods have occurred, goods which should not have been affected by this. Falls in supply or insufficient pace of growth of supply, which caused the market to recede.

All these factors, and no doubt a number of others of which I cannot speak in this short introduction, should to my mind be presented for the consideration of the citizen deputies, asking you to consider them and take note of them in making the assessment which will be the subject of the activity of the esteemed commission. [end recording]

[Announcer] We have broadcast excerpts from speeches by Premier Zbigniew Messner and Deputy Premier Zdzislaw Sadowski made today at the Sejm extraordinary commission.

Deputies Address Session

LD3108152788 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] At the moment the proceedings of the special commission are adjourned for lunch. After the lunch break the discussion will resume. We have for you reports on speeches that were delivered before lunch.

Deputy Sylwester Zawadzki, chairman of the legal team, said that so far the economy has been dominated by a prices and wages system or variant. The development of private enterprises deserves support. The still existing components of the command management system have to be given up. The deputy noted that the present implementation of the reform does not inspire confidence. There is no concrete program. A new philosophy for the reform is needed, said the speaker. Management system favoring efficiency has to prevail. The economy is still extensive in its nature. Remuneration should depend on labor productivity. Guarantees for that are provided, for example, by the team management forms, the introduction of which is unfortunately coming up against bureaucratic obstacles.

Deputy Zawadzki also evaluated the system of economic legislation. There is evidence of too many regulations, they are too detailed, and many of them still date back to the seventies when the command management system was in force. The special powers that the government has been given so far have turned out to have little effect as far as the legal aspect of the economic reform is concerned. Also, ministerial regulations have to be tidied up as soon as possible. The regulations concerning remuneration and taxes are first and foremost too extensive; there are too many of them. There are even specialists in evading these regulations. The taxation policy should give preference to good enterprises instead of making life easier for the bad ones. New principles of taxation policy should already have been decided by the government on 30 June of this year. We still have not received them, and these are issues of the greatest importance.

Next to speak, Waclaw Martyniuk, the deputy chairman of the OPZZ, said he did not agree with the standpoint of the Deputy Premier Zdzislaw Sadowski, that today it is still too difficult to analyze results so far in reforming the economy. He represented the standpoint of the OPZZ on the policy of the government for the last 3 years. For instance, in 1985, the OPZZ demanded the prices and incomes spiral be halted. Improvement ensued not from the growth of prices, but through the creation of proefficiency mechanisms. Already then, the undertaking of activities in this direction was demanded. The road to the improvement of the situation was a promarket economic policy, a change in the structure of the economy. The plan for the year 1986 also did not take account of the postulates of the unionists. Prices and incomes policy this year also did not produce results. In any case, these remarks, made by the OPZZ since 1985, were not taken account of by the government.

Next, Waclaw Martyniuk said that the reforming cannot continue to take place at the expense of the, in any case, low standard of living of working people. This year, the OPZZ did not agree with the intentions proposed by the government. Again, its standpoint was not taken into

account. Waclaw Martyniuk said that the inflationary policy of the government was the main cause of the April and May strikes. The last statement of the OPZZ and the speech of Alfred Miodowicz at the eighth plenum of the Central Committee should be recognized as a vote of no confidence for the government.

Waclaw Martyniuk addressed today's speech by Deputy Premier Zdzislaw Sadowski as well, asserting that the prices and incomes policy is not just one of the elements of economic policy, but is also the tip of the iceberg, the most important factor regulating the whole economy. There is also lately ensuing a systematic fall in the supply of goods to the market. To tell the complete, honest truth, continued Waclaw Martyniuk, there must be 3 years of sacrifices to attain results, but this is not mentioned either in the resolution of the 10th congress or in the Sejm resolutions. One cannot agree either with the view that the wave of strikes has caused a fall in the supply of goods to the market. This fall had already begun earlier. Finally, the last reservation: The concept of economic reform is not oriented toward the good of the individual. After 7 years, the trade unionists demand concrete results.

As we have said just now, the meeting of the extraordinary Sejm commission is in recess. The deliberation will be continued in a few dozen minutes.

Commission Opens 2d Day

LD0109085388 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0712 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Excerpts] Today at 0700 GMT, the Sejm Extraordinary Commission for the control of the implementation of the economic reform met for the 2d day. The subject of the meeting is the consideration of the government report on the implementation of the extraordinary powers and prerogatives for the Council of Ministers. The period of the deliberations, as is known, is a particular one and the subject will surely call forth a wide social resonance after the recent events in the country. The commission is deliberating in the Sejm lobbies. Among the (?spokesmen) and observers at this meeting [words indistinct] there are inter alia members of the Sejm Presidium, deputies from other commissions, PRON activists, unionists, and experts. [passage omitted]

Today, six speakers will take part in the discussion, [words indistinct] according to the timetable presented by the commission chair Deputy Krystyna Jandy-Jendroska. Then, an expert invited by the commission is to speak, and government representatives will reply to the postulates presented here.

First to speak in today's discussion was Deputy Zielinski. He stated that the commission had too little time to prepare a good evaluation of the documents presented by the government. Time places particular obligations on the commission and all the deputies. The deputy also stated that if one was to relate only to the materials presented by the Council of Ministers, then we should be optimists. But what is important is how the market situation is forming, what society's frame of mind is. The programs, he stated, remain on paper only for the time being. It is necessary to find the appropriate key to energize people. We were not capable, Deputy Zielinski stated, of bringing about a situation that would indicate the coincidence of the interests of the worker and the enterprise. Deputy Zielinski is continuing his speech.

Jaruzelski Meets With Warsaw Factory Workers

LD3108192988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1725 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] [Announcer] Here now is a report from the meeting held today between Wojciech Jaruzelski and the workers of the FSO Car Factory in Warsaw.

[Correspondent Marek Kassa] At the factory gate Wojciech Jaruzelski was welcomed by FSO Director Edward Pietrzak. He presented the factory to the guest, showing on a scale model of the factory the vast changes which have occurred at the works. After a brief tour of the exhibition of cars produced at FSO, Wojciech Jaruzelski went to production sections. In conversations with employees, he expressed interest in their everyday lives; problems of the factory; and issues of safety, leisure, and medical care. He also visited the factory cafeteria. [8-minute passage indistinct]

[Kassa] After touring the factory, Wojciech Jaruzelski met representatives of the FSO workforce in the conference hall. In a conversation which lasted over 2 hours there was talk of cooperation, barriers to advancement for young people, and the problems the factory has in freely using its foreign currency. There was no shortage, of course, of complaints about the housing situation, frequent changes of regulations on the functioning of enterprises, and of course, there were many voices expressing dissatisfaction with high prices. During the meeting, it was asked why talks are now being held with Lech Walesa when earlier his views were being discredited.

Wojciech Jaruzelski recalled his efforts of the early eighties to achieve national accord, and said:

[Begin Jaruzelski recording] On my initiative, the so-called meeting of the three was held on 4 November 1981: Primate Glemp, Lech Walesa, and myself. I then proposed that a council for national agreement be formed, which could be attended by all the forces, in proportion to their significance, in order to find formulas for wielding power, consulting, and agreeing on fundamental problems. The primate received this with complete understanding. What is more, the next day I received from the Episcopate a list of candidates to represent the Episcopate on the council. Lech Walesa

also expressed agreement to this but he went to Gdansk and the situation then changed completely. The situation developed the way it did, that is, as you know, including Radom and all this.

Other events also occurred, the introduction of martial law. I will not go into this subject now. For me that was an extremely dramatic decision and I am living with this thorn even today. However, I am deeply convinced that at the time this was our salvation.

Please remember that afterwards a period of intensive struggle ensued. All those who live in Warsaw (?can recall this) and Warsaw was the quietest place. Demonstrations, stones, gas from the other side—whole battles went on and on for several years. (?Numbers) were punished. Remember the aggravation of our relations with countries abroad, the propaganda aggression, and the expressions and invectives aimed at the authorities.

I personally never worried about it and I still do not. I would say I even treated it with a bit of amusement: all these juntas, these caricatures, these dark glasses. Well, all this kept going round and there was a great deal of it. I do not see anything terrible about it and I have never been offended by it. Those who have been doing these things today can be my conversation partners.

Why? Because I am a man who has already seen and lived through a lot, first and foremost through the drama of, to all intents and purposes, a civil war. I have seen one brother shooting another: I have seen my soldiers die before my very eyes. Our (?opponents) were dying (? too). At the same time, I know that in time we came to stand side by side. That is why these things cannot be treated (?tactically).

What about Reagan, who used to call the Soviet Union an evil empire? After all, he used to openly describe the Soviet Union in a brutal way. But he went there and spoke very favorably; he said he was giving up this evil empire expression. (?And not only) because there is a different era or a different leader in the Soviet Union but also because these people do not deserve it, they are a wonderful people, a heroic people who have suffered so much but who nevertheless have been able to achieve so much. So should Gorbachev have taken offense and not talked to Reagan because he had been hurling such epithets at his great country? I think that you have to put up with such things.

Now about why we reacted sharply. Let us recall: sanctions. I think that that is an ignominous moment. Now, too, some people are saying: do not give them credits because nothing will come of it anyway. Let that ship sink.

I can talk to any man, forgive everything, concede my own faults. There is one thing I cannot forgive: that which hurts my people. We remember these things; we remember them painfully. At the same time, we understand that we have to, along with all those who manifest good will—and I think that Lech Walesa can manifest it if he is not again encircled by some forces which influence him—to seek solutions, solutions for Poland. That is why today, with all these threats and all these losses which we all, unfortunately, all of us are going to feel, there is at the same time a chance of breaking out of this vicious circle, of reaching agreement on the basis of realities, realities and not an all or nothing attitude, as I have said.

[We want] to extend the platform of the authority, to include all people of goodwill who can (?and want) to participate, including this constructive opposition. We are moving in this direction. [end recording]

[Kas?] After the visit ended, the journalists accompanying Wojciech Jaruzelski on the bus asked for his impressions of the visit. The second question was asked by Marek Hauszyld of the EXPRESS WIECZORNY.

[Begin recording] [Jaruzelski] I have a good impression from the meeting, mainly thanks to having had an opportunity for actual direct talks with the people at their workplace. I saw these problems and concerns which they presented; I understand them. At the same time, there is the will to keep the factory at a good level, great hopes linked to its modernization and progress to production of completely different kind [3-minute passage indistinct]

[Correspondent Hauszyld] Everyone was impressed today by your statement—and I watched the hall—on the subject which we have been discussing for some years: the subject of agreement and the possibility of conducting a dialogue with everyone.

[Jaruzelski] I think I did not say anything new, perhaps this sounded different because the current situation gave more emphasis to these words. I am glad that some kind of a step is appearing, some chance for agreement on the platform wider than before. I do not wish to pre-judge anything, as this is a sensitive moment. Today initial contacts have started. (?I think) that this is a great chance. Let us not waste it; I believe we will not waste it. [end recording]

Further Report on Visit

LD0109001588 Warsaw PAP in English 2307 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 31—I wanted to meet you face to face so that I could hear from working people shortly after the 8th PUWP CC Plenum, important as it was for the country and the party, how they received its decisions, and first of all, so that I could learn what bothers them and what makes their life and work more difficult, said Wojciech Jaruzelski while talking today to representatives of the crew of Warsaw's FSO car factory.

Talks which Wojciech Jaruzelski held with the crew focussed on wages and discrepancies in pay, housing issues, market supply and on more general problems of the economic policy.

Wojciech Jaruzelski said, in part, that even with the right construction of the second stage of economic reforms, appropriate as it is which is confirmed also by western partners, the crucial knot of prices and wages may result in upsetting implementation of the entire programme. And this is why the point is today to design a more effective system. Works to this end are continued.

Socialism, said the general, is a great idea. Contrary to naive, utopian views that were popular at some stage, its achievement may solely be result of a longer process. Countries with such historical heritage as that of Poland must take a longer and more difficult road to reach this destination. Today we are facing a breakthrough. The most important thing is to remember anywhere along this road that the objective and subject has always been man, emphasized Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The issue of losses resulting from current strikes was also discussed in the talks. Wojciech Jaruzelski said they had a definite material dimension, but the most serious damage was done to the country's prestige.

Commenting on strikes in factories of the defence industry, he said that due to the interests of the states defence and because of the special legal status of those factories, measures provided for in the law would be taken unless strikes there were not ended soon.

Wojciech Jaruzelski referred also to Gen. Kiszczak's meeting with Lech Walesa. He recalled that he himself had on several occasions held meetings with Lech Walesa.

Many people change. We shall change too. We can, Wojciech Jaruzelski said, talk to anyone whose activities do not hit out at the superior reasons of the socialist state. Good solutions for Poland must be sought.

More on Talks to Workers

LD3108225888 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Today Wojciech Jaruzelski talked to employees of the passenger Car Factory [FSO].

I came to FSO today because I wanted to hear from the people what makes their daily work and life more difficult and what hampers these, said Wojciech Jaruzelski at the outset.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified man] Thank you very much.

[Unidentified woman] General, so how are things going to go? How are we going to work? Are things going to get better for us or will there be no improvement?

[Jaruzelski] Well, ladies and gentlemen, if you think back even a few months ago things were better, weren't they?

[Woman] They were, things were better, that's right.

[Jaruzelski] After all, over the last few years the situation has been improving systematically...

[Woman, interrupting] That's right.

[Jaruzelski] If we consider 1981, when there was nothing at all, and then step by step...

[Woman, interrupting] That's right, we started to get things back a little.

[Jaruzelski] And then the breakdown came, especially over the last few months. Unfortunately this wages and prices operation did not succeed. It hit the market hard. We wanted to agree on all this in a very democratic manner--there was the referendum, various consultations. But I understand it, it is only human, if one consults people whether prices should or shouldn't be raised and by how much, then the first reaction, especially yours, would be to buy more because the prices are going to go up...

[Woman, interrupting] Well, of course.

[Jaruzelski] And that is what has caused all these breakdowns. And the situation in the market is such that if a crack appears it starts getting deeper and deeper because everyone starts hurriedly, in a panic getting goods just in case.

[Woman] Well, that's how it is, you have to protect yourself a bit. [several indistinct voices]

[Jaruzelski] But we have to go through this difficult period of nervousness in which we are, nervousness in every respect.

[Woman] That's right. It is probably above all these lines that for us women, are...

[Second woman interrupting] The last straw.

[First woman]...simply the last straw, they are the limit, they drive us nuts.

[Jaruzelski] And where do you live, in what district?

[Woman] I live in Praga, Praga south.

[Jaruzelski] So it's not all that far from here, relatively.

[Woman] That's right, it isn't far, but there we also get a lot of commuters so all in all it's a bit tough trying to get something.

[Man] It's not only that there are no goods, General, but what really upsets people is these jumping prices. It's a fine thing when, for example, 2 weeks ago mustard cost Z60 [word indistinct] and yesterday my wife shows me that it costs 80! Whose doing is that? I am sure, General, that it's neither yours nor mine. It's done by a group of wise guys. Do you know about all this? that's what I am trying to get at.

[Jaruzelski] Yes, I do. Perhaps not about everything, certainly not about everything because I just couldn't know about everything. But let us take this example of yours with mustard, very characteristic.

[Man] That's right.

[Jaruzelski] We would have to go back to the old system when the state determined prices for all goods, including parsley, mustard and all sorts of things. But the state determines the prices only on some types of goods, considering that we are having the reform; the point being that healthy competition, which is going to arise, should make it so that prices are lowered rather than the other way round. We are now in the period—we call it interim—when not all of these new mechanisms are operating as yet, while the old ones have by now ceased operating, this manual control, as we used to call it. And we have to go through this period. And, as you put it, some people are making use...

[Man, interrupting] For sure.

[Jaruzelski, continuing] ...of the fact that the market demand is not met and they raise the prices because they know that people have to buy it anyway, because if someone needs mustard to go with his sausage, which he can sometimes get with a lot of effort, he is going to buy it even at Z300. And that is the whole problem; that we have to go through this difficult period in order to attain such a level of market supply as is going to do away with these things. [end recording]

Chief Editor Holds Press Conference on 8th Plenum

AU0109103888 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Aug 88 p 5

[Zygmunt Slomkowski report: "8th Plenum's Achievements—Press Conference"]

[Text] Jerzy Majka, chief editor of TRYBUNA LUDU, met with domestic and foreign journalists within an hour of the end of the eighth party plenum. He stressed that the eighth plenum was a continuation of the seventh plenum and was meant to evaluate the realization of the resolution of the seventh plenum, which mapped out the further lines of reforms. The country's tense situation has accelerated the date of the plenum.

Describing the discussion, in which 34 persons took part and which was introduced by 2 plenum reports, J. Majka drew attention to the following features:

—The present social tensions, which have been primarily caused by the worsened market situation and by increasing inflation, were analyzed critically and self-critically. These processes have lowered the living conditions of some people and have increased the fears of other people that their conditions may also worsen. Participants in the discussion pointed out that this was why the organizers of strikes were able to develop their activities.

—Many participants in the plenum discussion criticized the government's performance in solving problems.

—Disapproval was expressed for strikes as instruments that merely help to increase destruction, to intensify economic difficulties, and to promote divisions among work forces. The sponsors and organizers of strikes were condemned.

—General support was expressed for plant managements, social and political figures, and trade unions for their activities to solve conflicts in striking plants through dialogue and political measures, without using force.

—Many participants in the discussion stressed that the activists of former Solidarity had learned nothing in the many past years and had nothing to offer except destruction.

Discussing the plenum resolution, J. Majka said that it stressed the continuation of the line of reforms and national accord. The resolution states that neither the departure from the line of reforms nor sterile negation will ever be able to solve Polish problems.

As for economic matters, the plenum resolution regards improving the flow of goods and halting inflation as the most urgent task and states that this calls for the necessary government action. As for political matters, the resolution regards accelerating the efforts to create a coalition of proreform forces as the most urgent task. In this connection Jerzy Majka recalled the detailed proposals put forward by W. Jaruzelski in his concluding speech. The plenum resolution also expressed support for Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak's statement last Friday. In this statement C. Kiszczak appealed to representatives of social and professional communities to present their views and postulates at a roundtable discussion.

Expressing support for the reborn trade union movement, the resolution acknowledged that, in line with the OPZZ proposal, wherever workers do not regard the

present trade unions as their representatives, it will be possible to extend the membership of the union, elect its authorities, and establish the statute of the union set up with a broader participation of workers. The only condition is to stick to the principle established by W. Jaruzelski that there is no freedom without a sense of responsibility.

Recalling that W. Jaruzelski said that the plenum should make a turn, J. Majka said that the plenum made such a turn, because it expressed its ties with the working people and its sensitivity to human problems. It also favored more accurately defining the role of the party in the economy and its leadership's relations with the the government, and called for effective methods of activities and for solving difficult problems through patient dialogue.

Most of the over 20 questions asked by journalists focused on the opposition.

[Question] Who will decide whether a position is constructive or destructive?

[Majka] The people who want to act as opposition will decide. He who engages in illegal actions that constitute a danger to the economy, national assets, and life assumes a destructive position. However, we stick to the principle proclaimed during martial law that we are not interested in knowing where one comes from, but where one wants to go.

[Question] Much criticism was leveled against the government during the plenum discussion. Why is no such criticism included in the resolution?

[Majka] Such criticism is present in W. Jaruzelski's concluding speech, which the resolution regards as the Central Committee's position.

[Question] The resolution is silent on trade union pluralism, which activists of former Solidarity want to introduce. What could then be the subject of roundtable discussions?

[Majka] The plenum said nothing to change our position on legalizing former Solidarity. A. Miodowicz was one of the speakers who discussed the harmfulness of competing trade unions. There are many issues that are crucial for Poland's development and these issues can be discussed at the table. Very many members of former Solidarity who have been on the sidelines for some years, now participate in solving such issues.

[Question] Will the Central Committee ask the Sejm to make changes in the government?

[Majka] I have nothing to add to what W. Jaruzelski said in his concluding speech.

[Question] Are discussions with Solidarity possible?

[Majka] Anyone can sit at the roundtable discussion, but a representative of an organization that does not legally exist cannot.

[Question] Do authorities see Walesa as a partner in talks?

[Majka] The plenum did not discuss L. Walesa. Discussions are open to anyone who respects our legal order.

[Question] Is it possible to talk with the opposition, if previous experience in this regard was not positive?

[Majka] The development of every situation in every country has its specific rhythm. Apparently the time has come that it is possible to have such talks. We have always been ready to talk with anyone who had constructive proposals to offer. Today we also speak of respect for our legal order and constitutional principles. Comrade Jaruzelski said that there is no departure and there will be none from the principle of Poland's socialist development.

[Question] If the strike in the Gdansk shipyards does not end, how long will the offer of roundtable discussions will be valid?

[Majka] Strikes are slowly waning. Our offer has been addressed to all work forces, including those on strike. That is why the two issues are not connected.

[Question] Will the managements of the enterprises on strike be given party punishment?

[Majka] This is an absurd question. Members of the managements of the enterprises in which strikes have developed deserve the highest respect for their long, persevering, and patient talks seeking to solve conflicts with the help of the potentials of their enterprises. You should know that there were and are no party members among organizers of strikes and among strikers themselves.

[Question] Will Walesa be allowed to participate in talks if the strike in the shipyards is called off?

[Majka] There are no conditions attached to talks, because the government has not asked anyone by name to attend them. The government has presented an offer to attend talks, which means that attendance does not depend on the government, but on the persons concerned.

[Question] How can you reconcile the critical approach of the plenum participants toward the party's certain economic decisions with its submission of more economic directives?

[Majka] It is nonsense to suggest that the PZPR has not discussed economic subjects and that it has no economic policy. Every party in other countries defines its concepts of economic solutions in its political program and implements these concepts as far as it can. The point at issue is for our party so to realize its economic policy as not to deputize for the bodies charged with this task.

[Question] Both Walesa and General Kiszczak said that there were no conditions. Therefore, can talks actually begin?

[Majka] As for L. Walesa, in the past his statements and conduct were incoherent. If he lists no conditions, there is nothing to prevent him from expressing his willingness to participate in the proposed talks. Judging by the number of questions about Walesa, we can assume that the questioners regard Lech Walesa as the central figure. I wish to stress that this is an approach of representatives of the foreign mass media, and not my approach. We have proposed to hold talks on difficult problems, which cannot be solved by individual communities. Mr Walesa, as Mr Walesa, is therefore one of the invited persons, and it is only he who can determine whether he wants to sit at that "roundtable," provided he wishes to respect the legal order of the PPR.

Trade Union Disputes Government Merger Ordinance

LD3108170388 Warsaw PAP in English
1445 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Tarnobrzeg, Aug. 31 - The board of the independent self-governing Trade Union of Sulphur Mining and Processing Employees in the "Siarkopol" sulphur combine in Tarnobrzeg decided to begin a collective dispute with the Polish Government. They are demanding the suspension of the premier's ordinance on the merger of state enterprises.

According to the ordinance three independent enterprises were to merge into one: the "Siarkopol" sulphur mines and processing plants in Tarnobrzeg, the sulphur mines and chemical sulphur works "Siarkopol" in Grzybow and the chemical mineral processing enterprise "Siarkopol" in Gdansk.

According to the trade unionists from the 11,000-strong crew of the Trarnobrzeg-based "Siarkopol" such a merger may bring about a deterioration of the enterprise's economic results and a fall in wages.

"We hold the opinion that at the time of the economic reform and the course of enterprise independence and the de-monopolization of the economy the disbanding of three profitable enterprises and their merger into one giant company from an economic point of view is, to say the least, incomprehensible," claim the Tarnobrzeg unionists.

Szczecin Voivodship TU Body on 'Illegal' Strikes

LD3108120588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1005 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Yesterday, the voivodship committee of the Voivodship Trade Union Accord in Szczecin met. In their published statement we read: Assessing critically the causes and those responsible for the current socio-economic situation, we affirm that the illegal strikes are deepening socio-economic difficulties. We declare ourselves in favor of using efficient forms of protest with the aim of settling just economic demands resulting from the faulty implementation of economic reform in the country. We do not support the illegal strikes which are creating disorder in the economy, causing significant difficulties in the inhabitants' life, and negatively affecting every citizen of our region.

The organizing of illegal strikes in work enterprises violates the decisions of the law on trade unions and can bring with it legal and economic sanctions based on impounding the property of the trade unions to cover the losses that occur. We feel that the appropriate legal-economic sanctions should be applied to the organizers of the illegal strikes which significantly harm the economy, enterprises, the country, and particular citizens. The law must be applied to all citizens and the financial consequences of these strikes must affect the standard of living of the whole society.

Especially harmful is the exploitation of social dissatisfaction and tensions for the realization of political aims contrary in their essence to the interest of working people. The trade unions affiliated with the Voivodship Trade Union Accord in Szczecin are struggling and will continue to struggle until they achieve success in the fulfillment of the demands of working people for the improvement of the situation and better living standards, making use of all legal means. We want to cooperate through legal means with all who have the same aim. We express our recognition of all workers who in this difficult time did not forsake their places of work.

Bishops' Pastoral Message From Jasna Gora

AU3108124188 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 29 Aug 88 pp 1, 2

[Pastoral message issued by cardinals, archbishops, and diocesan bishops at Jasna Gora on 26 August 1988]

[Text] 1. At this very time, when diocesan bishops traditionally deliberate and say their prayers at Jasna Gora, all the Polish people are again experiencing dramatic shocks. As ever, the bishops are with the people, offering them the solace of the Gospel and sharing their concerns and anxieties. Some bishops have already expressed their views on those painful issues, but now all of them are doing so.

We have in mind the events that, although taking place in some regions of our country, concern the entire fatherland. We have often spoken of the reasons for these events, and it is with aching hearts that we have to state that the disease is still there.

We again address the governing and the governed and point out both one's rights and duties. We continue to voice our teachings based on the Gospel's truth, which was proclaimed so clearly to the entire world by John Paul II.

2. Strikes are a symptom of the disease that has been developing for years. The basic reason for the present sociopolitical situation lies in the violation of human rights and of the dignity of man's work. The violation of these rights is harming the entire nation and the security of the state.

It is necessary to abandon aforethought and practiced mendacity and to build the nation's life on truth.

It is necessary to break with the practice of intimidation and the use of force and to loyally recognize the reasonable voice of all our citizens.

It is necessary to admit competent people to running the affairs of the state and to grant each honest citizen the freedom due to him.

It is necessary to recognize that dialogue is the basis for resolving all social conflicts.

It is necessary to search for ways leading to trade union pluralism and to the establishment of associations.

It is the duty of the governing to ensure the necessary living conditions for all.

3. We all realize that rights involve duties.

One has to be honest in private, family, and public life.

It is everyone's duty to work. The Holy Father spoke to us on this subject:

—We need to "work to learn to work" (Szczecin on 11 June 1987);

—Work is man's duty to God, people, the family, and the nation (Katowice on 20 June 1983);

—It is the duty of the state to "create room for everyone to be able, through work, to develop himself, his personality, and his calling" (Gdansk on 12 June 1987).

Joint efforts are waiting for us. In the name of God we beg: Let no one shrink from efforts. No one will make them for us. The history of our baptized nation has taught us that there is a way out of every situation.

The social accords, which were signed 8 years ago and were drawn up with such great labors, are still a task to be fulfilled.

We are all obliged to make efforts, in which the Catholic Church will continue to perform its services in the name of Living God and under the protection of the Jasna Gora Queen of Poland.

Message Appraised Positively

AU3108124388 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Aug 88 p 2

[Commentary by Jerzy Wisniowski: "For the Benefit of the Highest Interests"]

[Text] Saturday's newspapers as well as radio and television carried the text of the message addressed by Poland's bishops to the clergy, the faithful, and all people of goodwill.

In the wake of the sermon delivered by Poland's primate, Cardinal Glemp, during feast day celebrations at Jasna Gora—the important content of the sermon was communicated in the pastoral letters issued by the bishops of Wroclaw and Kamien—Szczecin—Polish society has now had an opportunity to acquaint itself with the joint position of all Poland's Roman Catholic bishops on the social unrest that has erupted in our country. Universal concern about the scale and the intensity of the unrest explains the great interest aroused by the bishops' words in broad sections of society. This not only applies to those who identify with the Roman Catholic Church, but also to those who are far removed from identifying with it.

As Cardinal Glemp said in his Jasna Gora sermon, the church in Poland does not identify itself with any one political group. However, it is also obvious that no political group can ignore the position of the church on issues of vital importance for the state and the nation. The church's position was set out in the bishops' message. Every unbiased citizen in our country, irrespective of the world outlook to which he subscribes, should consider the message in a spirit of goodwill and in doing so should seek out those elements of its content that could provide an impetus for launching activity that will unite and not divided the nation living between the Bug and the Odra, a nation in which there is so much disagreement today, and elements of this kind are indeed present in the bishops' message.

Bearing this in mind, particular attention should be accorded those parts of the bishops' message that recall the dignity of work, which is "man's duty toward God, people, the family, and the nation" (John Paul II, Katowice, 20 June 1983). The sincerity of the appeal that the bishops address to the faithful arouses respect: "Joint efforts are waiting for us. No one will make them for us. The history of our baptized nation has taught us that there is a way out of every situation." The following

passage is also noteworthy: "The social accords, which were signed 8 years ago and were drawn up with such great labors, are still to be fulfilled." This passage sounds all the more true when it is read in conjunction with something else that the bishops say: "We all realize that rights involve duties."

In their message, Poland's bishops put forward their assessment of the reasons why the situation in our country continues to be difficult. Every citizen and group of citizens has the sovereign right to produce assessments of this kind, and this right does, of course, also apply to the group of bishops. So, it is not at all surprising that the message contains assessments of this kind, although one may wish to take issue with some of them.

However, this is one of the basic conditions for dialogue—dialogue for the benefit of the highest state and national interests—and it must be continued and expanded. The party has continually declared itself to be ready to engage on dialogue, and General Kiszczak's recent proposals are one way in which this position has been expressed in concrete terms. General Kiszczak sincerely calls on all Poles who feel that they bear a responsibility for the future of their fatherland to take part in it.

Episcopate Issues 'Correction' to Report

LD3108203088 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] The Polish Episcopate Press Office, in a correction issued today, explains that the purpose of the visit by lawyer Jacek Ambroziak to the Stalowa Wola steelworks was only to inform the strike committee about the talks held by Prof Andrzej Stelmachowski with representatives of the authorities regarding the roundtable meeting.

CSSR Goods To Be Taken to Foreign Ports

LD3108163088 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] The Polish naval attache in Prague reports that the Czechoslovak side has called off all talks and meetings planned. The talks were connected with the transit of Czech goods through Polish ports. It has been decided to direct Czech ships to the ports of other countries. On the Czech wharf in the port of Szczecin, where the strike has now lasted 14 days, 100,000 tonnes of Czech goods have not been transloaded.

Wreaths Laid at Memorials to August 1980

LD3108112588 Warsaw PAP in English 1036 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Gdansk, Aug. 31—Flowers were laid today at the monuments to shipyard workers in Gdansk and Gdynia, on the eighth anniversary of the August agreements.

In Gdansk, flowers were laid at the monument to fallen shipyard workers by delegations of social and vocational organizations, of the voivodship and municipal councils of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth PRON, and by delegations of leading plants and enterprises, including the yard, port, refinery, and Polish railways. Among those present was also First Secretary of the Gdansk PUWP Voivodship Committee Marek Holdakowski.

In Gdynia, delegations of PRON and largest plants and enterprises, including among others, the shipyard, port, Polish Ocean Lines PLO and "Dalmor", laid flowers at the obelisk to victims of December 1970.

Views of Historic Issues With Germany, USSR

Book on Gorbachev Castle Meeting

LD1608180988 Warsaw PAP in English 1703 GMT 16 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 16—One month has elapsed since the "Castle meeting" here of a broad representation of Polish intellectuals and Mikhail Gorbachev. The meeting, planned to last two hours and extended to three and a half hours, was a political and cultural event and an important fact in the relations of the two nations.

At present, a book is being prepared following the suggestion of president of the National Council of Culture Professor Bogdan Suchodolski to compile a book which would contain all the speeches, including those not presented (due to the lack of time) during the meeting. Mikhail Gorbachev agreed to such a form of continuing a "meeting after the meeting".

Today, General Secretary of the National Council of Culture Rafal Skapski told PAP that the work on the publication had been started immediately in the wake of the meeting. A full stenographic record of the meeting was prepared following the request by the Soviet side. Professors and writers, encouraged by Professor Suchodolski, have already forwarded the written versions of their speeches, suggestions and conclusions while other participants in the gathering promised to send their addresses.

Those supplementary voices include such issues as the so-called "blank spots", economic integration and the rules of the development of socialism in the past. According to Professor Suchodolski's intention, the point is to contain in the book the whole of consideration by Polish humanists concerning difficult topics of the current times. In this sense, we are treating the publication of the book as a great chance for the promotion of the Polish culture in the world, Skapski stressed.

A few printing houses are competing for the title to issue the book. There are proposals to publish the speeches in Polish, Russian and English. It is our desire to bring out the book already this year, Skapski said.

Polish-Soviet Commission Member Interviewed

PM3108125988 Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 13-14 Aug 88 p 3

[Interview with Prof Mieczyslaw Tanty of Warsaw University, member of Polish-Soviet historians commission for the investigation of relations between the two countries, by Roman Debecki; date and place not given]

[Text] [Debecki] Information released to date indicates that the commission in whose work you participate investigates the period between the two world wars and that of World War II. Was that chronological span suggested by the fact that the period in question contains the highest number of "blank areas" in the record of our relations with the Soviet Union?

[Tanty] The task of throwing light on a large number of issues concerning the recent history of our relations has been deemed the most urgent question in our work. Many events have become obscured with a veil of ambiguity which for many reasons has not yet been cleared. The brief of the commission is to do just that. Our commission is not in any way limited or restricted in the choice of issues to be investigated. We are autonomous and we can raise any questions we deem important and requiring clarification. I must, however, add that our commission cannot take upon itself the burden of an obligation to solve every single one of the problems it will be investigating. It is simply too small for that. Consequently, our work will consist primarily in posing certain research questions, throwing certain doors open, and inviting a wide range of historians—both Soviet and Polish—to cooperate with us.

[Debecki] Should the Polish-Soviet war of 1920 be considered one of those blank areas?

[Tanty] No. A considerable number of Polish publications on the subject have appeared, throwing light on the actual course of the military operations as well as many other circumstances. Of course, some questions still remain less well researched than others and that is why we do not avoid the subject of the 1920 war in our studies. For example, it would be extremely interesting to establish the degree to which that war, when considered from the Soviet viewpoint, was coupled with the intention of provoking a worldwide revolution. Did this link exist from the start of the military operations or only from the time when the Soviet offensive gained momentum and the Red Army began to score military successes? Polish and Soviet historians hold differing opinions on this question. For example, Soviet scientific literature on the subject contains no information on the proposals which the Soviet Union put to the Polish side at the time when the Red Army was at its most successful. They were demands which—had they been agreed to—would have restricted Poland's autonomy. Among other things, the issues in question concerned limiting the size of the Polish Army and granting Soviet Russia considerable transit privileges for the transport of its goods to Germany.

If we are to clarify these and many other questions, we need access to Soviet sources. We would then be able to attempt an answer to such questions as, for instance, what debates—if any—took place at the highest level of authority, in the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee, in the Soviet of People's Commissars, and also at top military echelons. Without that information we do not know whether the concept of marching forward as far as Germany—as propounded by Tukhachevskiy and Trotskiy—with the aim of provoking a revolution there which would eventually spread all over Europe was just their exclusive idea or whether it was shared by a wider group of leaders of the Soviet state as it was then. All we know today is that those leaders pinned high hopes on a worldwide revolution because its outbreak would eliminate the isolation experienced by the young Soviet state in the international arena.

[Debecki] Professor, I believe that it is difficult to investigate the question of Polish-Soviet relations without detailed knowledge of the internal history of the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, we have no good studies on the subject in Poland. Professor Bazylow's books end with the 1917 revolution. Is there a chance that such a work will be written now?

[Tanty] I do not think so. Polish historians can investigate certain isolated topics in the recent history of the Soviet Union, such as economic, cultural, and social questions. On the other hand, questions concerning the Soviet Union's internal politics are, for the time being at least, out of our reach. Here we must largely rely on the achievements of Soviet historians. In this matter, the work of the commission appointed by the CPSU Central Committee to investigate law infringements which took place during the Stalin era should prove helpful.

Today many views and opinions are being revised in the Soviet Union. For example, a new CPSU history is being prepared, as well as the history of the Third International, or the Comintern. During one of the sessions of our commission Soviet historians presented—among other things—a paper on the Comintern containing a considerable revision of the theses which had heretofore been published on the subject. Such a new approach opens the way to a completely new evaluation of the Comintern's role and its attitude to communist parties.

[Debecki] A critical evaluation?

[Tanty] Very much so. The paper in question explains why a sudden turn occurred in August 1939 in the policy followed by the Comintern. In the thirties the Third International was independent, but from the mid-thirties onward the autonomy of the Comintern Executive Committee was progressively restricted.

[Debecki] The Soviet side handed over to the Central Archives of the PZPR Central Committee 106,000 microfilms containing historical documents of the Polish workers movement. Among them is a document which allows us to establish the date—heretofore unknown—of the dissolution of the KPP [Communist Party of Poland]. Are we also going to discover the reason for the dissolution of the KPP in 1938? I mean a more plausible reason than the accusations, leveled at the time, of harboring conspiracy and infiltration by the agents of the Polish "Deuxieme Bureau."

[Tanty] There are a lot of documents there and enough material in them to keep us busy for at least 2 years. They throw light on other things besides the date of the dissolution of the KPP. Incidentally, the reasons for that decision were the subject of one of the papers delivered at our latest meeting.

The dissolution of the KPP was also a consequence of the development of the situation in the USSR in 1939.

[Debecki] A thesis which has appeared in historical studies postulates that the Soviet-French-British talks in the summer of 1939 were merely a camouflage on Stalin's part because from the very beginning he had no intention of forming an alliance with the Western powers and wanted to form one with Germany instead. Nonetheless, he wanted to demonstrate his goodwill and to be able to win propaganda points.

[Tanty] We know today that Stalin conducted talks with Germany at the same time as the ones with France and England. Naturally, to begin with, this was done through indirect channels, through the Soviet Embassy in Berlin and the German Embassy in Moscow. These talks gained in intensity in the second half of August 1939 and they resulted in the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact of 23 August 1939. The official thesis propounded by the Soviet historiography claims that had the Western powers offered the Soviet Union guarantees of real collaboration, it would have formed an alliance with them rather than with Germany.

The commission decided to prepare a scholarly study of the whole complex of issues connected with the year 1939, including a survey of these issues as seen in an international aspect. That broad aspect is necessary because publication or discussion of certain documents without placing them in a historical context may lend itself to misinterpretation, especially if we start to apply universally accepted moral norms to politics—which is a mistake because politics does not always have to be associated with morals.

[Debecki] The date 17 September 1939 represents one of those blank areas: the question of the occupation of Poland's eastern territories by the Red Army. Are we going to see the day when this matter is fully clarified?

[Tanty] The Soviet side has already disavowed the motive of the 17 September note addressed to the Polish ambassador in Moscow, which contained assertions about the fall of the Polish state. Other views and pronouncements on Poland by the then Soviet people's commissar, that is, Foreign Affairs Minister Molotov, have also been disavowed. We have no sources on the operations in the eastern territories, which means that it will be necessary to study Soviet diplomatic and military documents. The relevant Red Army operations could be researched by Soviet historians. There is a distinct possibility that this will happen, for several members of our commission are military historians.

[Debecki] Among other consequences of the 17 September [invasion] were the relocations—or deportations—of the Polish population to the interior territories of the Soviet Union. These affected hundreds of thousands of Polish people, often in a very tragic way. Can one expect some progress in the research into this subject and some clarification of the many questions which arose around it over many years of silence?

[Tanty] One cannot, as you suggest, use exclusively the blanket term deportations. Only a part, not the whole of the Polish population was affected by the deportations—although, admittedly, it was the major part. That is why we use the term relocations. These included persons who left willingly for the eastern territories, for example in search of work. We have gained some knowledge of the questions connected with the deportations from materials published by Polish communities abroad. The Soviet side has not concerned itself with these problems before now. But the first steps have already been taken. During our latest meeting, Valentina Parasadanova read a paper on the subject of relocations and deportations of the Polish population to the interior territories of the Soviet Union. The author researched the subject on the basis of Soviet archive materials, from central as well as Ukrainian and Byelorussian sources. She introduced new aspects of the problem, which were absent in the materials available to us. Our commission has recommended that detailed research of the whole problem be conducted jointly by Polish and Soviet historians. It has to be acknowledged and duly appreciated that the Soviet side showed considerable initiative in this matter.

[Debecki] In an interview after a meeting of the commission, chairman of the Polish side Prof Jarema Maciszewski said: "Unfortunately, we have not yet made much progress in bringing to light all the circumstances of the Katyn tragedy. But we are not going to give up in our search for further documents." Does a clarification of the Katyn question depend solely on whether we find those further documents?

[Tanty] The Katyn question is our most painful concern. It needs to be clarified because of the expectations held by the public opinion in Poland, and not only in Poland.

It is our intention and our desire to throw full light on the whole problem. We asked the Soviet side to persist in its search for documents to throw light on that tragedy.

[Debecki] Professor, we are talking about filling in the "blank areas," about throwing light on certain—often tragic—incidents in our relations with the Soviet Union, and about publishing scholarly studies on those subjects. But how do you envisage the process of disseminating the knowledge that will be gained by professional historians? How will it be relayed and popularized in the widest circles of our society? Surely, we cannot begin to talk of success until honest and thorough information becomes universally available to the people, displacing ignorance, stereotyped opinion, and myths?

[Tanty] I hope that, among other things, this interview will contribute to it. Members of our commission do not avoid all contact. On the other hand, you are quite right about the ordinary man in the street drawing his knowledge either from stereotyped opinion and accounts of events or from literature published in the [clandestine] alternative network, which does not always reveal all aspects of things. Stereotyped opinion and myths are still more readily accepted than information gained on the basis of honest and thorough research. But here we historians come in for some criticism too: Had honest and truthful publications concerning a large number of controversial questions appeared much earlier, they might have already reached many people who are seeking such knowledge. I hope that the projected publication of such works as, for example, a joint monographic study of the years 1917-1920 or a study of Polish population in the Soviet Union in the years 1939-1941 will help to overcome the stereotyped thinking and the ignorance. Public expectations are very high—as are those cherished by professional historians. We are sensitive to that pressure and those expectations. We want to recruit large numbers of historians to work on the explanation and filling in of those blank areas. Their help may well prove invaluable.

1938 Dissolution of Communist Party Viewed

AU1808194188 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 16 Aug 88 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Julian Kieszczynski, member of the Institute for the History of the Workers Movement attached to the Academy of Social Sciences, by Pawel Dybicz: "The Background to the Dissolution of the Communist Party of Poland"—date and place not given]

[Text] Exactly half a century ago, the executive committee of the Comintern, which was based in Moscow, decided to dissolve the Communist Party of Poland [KPP]. This is one of the most controversial events in 20th century Polish history. Until recently, very little could be said about the circumstances and causes relating to the affair. Today, SZTANDAR MLODYCH discusses the subject with Julian Kieszczynski from the Institute for the History of the Workers Movement attached to the Academy of Social Sciences.

[Dybicz] Recently, Poland received a great deal of archive material under the terms of the Polish-Soviet agreement. It included a document issued by the Comintern in August 1938...

[Kieszczynski] On 16 August 1938, to be precise...

[Dybicz] ...formally dissolving the KPP. Our historians were not familiar with the document. You are one of a group of scholars who have read it, and you are now engaged in work connected with it. However, I would like to begin by discussing the process whereby the KPP and its members were eliminated and its origins. The document appeared during the last stage of this process, and one could even say that what it did was to legalize the Stalinist crimes that were committed against the KPP's members.

[Kieszczynski] You are right. The elimination of the KPP was a process that lasted several years. It did not begin in 1937, but was already under way back in 1933. That was when some of the KPP members in the Soviet Union were first accused of being involved in espionage. Former Left Polish Socialist Party activists, such as Jerzy Czeszejka-Sochacki and Tadeusz Zarski, were deemed enemies of the people during the years 1933-34. Later, over a period of almost 2 years, individual arrests were made of left socialists and members of the radical people's movement. Mass arrests, on the other hand, did not begin until 1936.

[Dybicz] But let us try to answer one question: Why did the arrests take place? As we said, it was a process, so it had a beginning, a middle, and an end. Let us spend some time on the background to the arrests and the repressions.

[Kieszczynski] Therefore, we should discuss the real reasons behind the dissolution of the KPP. We should begin by pointing out that Poles comprised the largest group of political emigres on Soviet soil. It was composed of communists, and small groups of left-wing socialists and peasant radicals. There were about 18,000 of them altogether, and most of them lived in Moscow. The Poles were very active in public and political life in the USSR and occupied a variety of state and party posts. Thus, they had to take part in the various discussions and debates that were going on in the Soviet Union during the 1920's and 1930's. Among the first emigres to arrive in the Soviet Union were activists connected with the so-called majority—Wera Koszutska-Kostrzewa, Alfred Warski-Warszawski, and Henryk Walecki. They did not necessarily voice criticism of Stalin and his policies during the debates that were taking place, but they expressed misgivings.

[Dybicz] And this is something that Stalin and his people viewed with displeasure...

[Kieszczynski] And that is why the "majority" lost their lives. At the very outset, they commented on and warned about many of the methods that Stalin was beginning to employ. These included stifling debate and criticism, and excessive interference in the personnel affairs of individual parties, which is something that Lenin did not do. Stalin was not the only one to behave in this way: Zinovyev and Kamenev, who were later to become his victims, also did so. There was a clash between Koszutska and Stalin, Zinovyev, and their supporters at the Fifth Comintern Congress. Wera Kostrzewa criticized their way of crushing the independence of individual parties, and these were sufficient grounds for leveling charges of Trotskiyism against her and others. Incidentally, at that time Trotskiy was also opposed to violations of internal party democracy. During the dispute Zinovyev said: "We will break the bones of those who oppose us." Koszutska replied: "Well, as for us, we have got strong enough backbones, because we have have been maltreated in Polish prisons on more than one occasion. What is a more serious matter is having no backbone." This was an allusion to those members of the KPP Central Committee and party conference delegates who, realizing that Stalin would be the victor, changed their views overnight.

[Dybicz] It is understandable that Stalin should have disliked the "majority," because they were opposed to dogmatism, and that is why he liquidated them. However, there was also the minority, and they were completely devoted to him.

[Kieszczynski] That is right. The minority, headed by General Secretary Julian Lenski, was one of Stalin's most loyal groups of allies. They approved of everything that he did, attacked his opponents, and supported Stalin's trials of "enemies of the people, and renegade socialists." Until 1935 there was no sign of discord between the minority and Stalin. However, at the Seventh Comintern Congress, when Dimitrov said that "communist parties belonging to the Comintern do not have to ape everything that is happening in the Soviet Union," the KPP's program underwent a certain evolution under Lenski-Leszczynski and his team. It is hard to say whether it was far-reaching, but on the basis of existing documents, we can say that the communists proceeded to adopt a correct policy course. They came out in favor of the preservation of territorial integrity, with respect to the both the western and eastern borders. They did not abandon the platform of national self-determination but, in view of the German threat, they decided that it should be shelved for the time being, and they took up the cause of autonomy for the peoples living in the eastern territories. The very fact that Polish Communists were opposed to the incorporation of all of the Ukraine and Belorussia into the USSR could not have gone down well with Stalin. What is more, the Polish Communists abandoned the idea of a Polish Soviet Republic in favor of a People's or Socialist Poland. When they began to say that it was necessary to unite Polish youth and establish a single youth organization—this also applied to trade unions—Moscow accused them of nationalism.

Apparently, Stalin wanted to reach some kind of agreement with Hitler before 1939, that is, back in 1935 or 1936, but the KPP stood in his way. This question requires further research, but some Soviet historians are beginning to formulate a similar thesis. There are said to be documents concerning talks between the Germans and Stalin's envoys that took place in 1935-36. Perhaps the talks concerned the division of Poland, which is how Stalin wanted to divert Hitler's attention to the West.

And this is what made Stalin supply Dimitrov, the chairman of the Comintern, with falsified documentation describing the KPP leadership as agents working for Pilsudski and the Sanacja [Pilsudski's government].

[Dybicz] Even if we accept that the statements and confessions made by members of the KPP were—to put it bluntly—obtained by way of torture, that is, people were forced to produce them or to sign falsified documents, it surely cannot be denied that the KPP was infiltrated by the Sanacja police apparatus?

[Kieszczynski] You might be somewhat surprised to hear this, but the state police, as well as the so-called "dwojka" [prewar Polish intelligence service] and similar agencies had informants in all the parties. To back this up, I can tell you that they had a very good idea of what happened at meetings of the presidium of the central executive committee of the Polish Socialist Party, although the body had no more than a handful of members. Thus, we can have a good guess at what infiltration of an illegal party such as the KPP was like.

[Dybicz] Let us return to the fate of the Polish Communists. How many of them were affected by the Stalinist repressions?

[Kieszczynski] The problem in answering this question is that the documents we have pertain to the most important Soviet show trials. So, we know who perished when, and what they were accused of. However, we do not what numbers were involved in the case of the Polish Communists. It is only by gathering biographical material that we can establish what happened to them. It is high time we started examining these events and conducting research on them. I have been examining how many full and candidate members of the KPP Central Committee were affected by the Stalinist repressions during the years 1936-38. So far, I have worked out that 58 of the 91 members perished immediately, or were deported to camps and then disappeared without trace.

[Dybicz] So, as 58 is not the final figure, we can assume that more members of the KPP Central Committee perished?

[Kieszczynski] Unfortunately, it is not a final figure, and we can be sure that there were more victims. In fact, in general, most of the KPP members who survived were those who were in Sanacja prisons at the time.

[Dybicz] So the Sanacja authorities saved their lives.

[Kieszczynski] That seems to be the case. It is something of a tragic historical paradox. After all, we know that most of the people who found themselves behind bars under the Sanacja were KPP activists and, as we have mentioned, they were the first victims of the Stalinist repressions. The fate of the Polish Communists who were in the Soviet Union was also avoided by those who were in the West, principally in Spain and France, and were not summoned to Moscow, or did not want to go there themselves, because they knew what was in store for them.

[Dybicz] So what were the feelings and reactions of the KPP aktivs and masses toward the persecution of the KPP leadership and the dissolution of the KPP itself?

[Kieszczynski] That is a complicated issue. We do not have too many documents about the events in those times. We do know about individuals who opposed the KPP's dissolution, for example Leon Lipski, and we also possess certain police records that mention the dissatisfaction and disbelief felt by a group of communists. Did this dissatisfaction assume a broader extent? One should think not. Although we do have many postwar reminiscences on paper, their credibility is questionable to say the least, because years later anyone could have said that he was opposed. However, there is one thing one can say openly. A considerable number of communists believed it was a tragic mistake, and that somewhere in the NKVD or elsewhere there was a group of people who wanted to eliminate the Polish Communists. They did not believe Stalin could be the chief organizer and perpetrator of the persecution and execution of KPP people. There were also many communists who were convinced of Stalinist slander.

Let me mention a certain young aktivist, Ignacy Tom, one of the leaders of the Communist Union of Polish Youth [KZMP]. He lived in Kiev, where he edited the Polish journal "Sierp" ["Sickle"]. When they came to arrest him in 1937, his wife was so convinced that he was an enemy of the people that she did not even want to say goodbye to him.

The reaction of KPP people to the fate of their party is a subject of research, though one cannot say whether any credible opinions and conclusions will be possible because of the lack of sources.

[Dybicz] You mentioned KZMP aktivists. To what extent were they persecuted?

[Kieszczynski] As far as the young aktivists, the KZMP leadership, are concerned, most of them were in Poland. I have a list containing 27 members of the KZMP Secretariat in the thirties. Four of them were in the USSR, not one of whom survived. They are Ignacy Tom, whom I have already mentioned; plus Aleksander Hiller, Antoni Lipski, and Beniamin Goldflam-Janicki. They were all aged 34 or 35. It may turn out that they were not the only ones who perished.

[Dybicz] At the present stage of research, can one already give an approximate figure for the number of people who were arrested?

[Kieszczynski] Unfortunately, right now we are not even able to give an approximate figure. The most we can say is that several thousand people were arrested.

[Dybicz] Did Stalin and his people treat communists in other parties the same way as the KPP?

[Kieszczynki] No. There was no such mass persecution. Of course, measures were applied against some communist aktivists, such as Hungarian party leader Bela Kun, but they were not on the same scale.

[Dybicz] What was the procedure applied to them? Were they sentenced to death straightaway?

[Kieszczynski] It is difficult to say. We assume that most of them were. But as long as we have no access to Soviet archives containing NKVD files, the archives of prosecutor's offices, and other sources, and find out what the accusations against them were, the final stage in the lives of the KPP people remains a blank spot.

[Dibycz] But we already know about a document dated 16 August 1938. What news does it give about the dissolution of the KPP?

[Kieszczynski] Let me say first of all that last year and this year the USSR has supplied us with many documents about the KPP. Two of them are very important for us. One gives the date of the formal dissolution of the KPP. We know who signed it; it was Georgi Dimitrov, Wilhelm Florin, Palmiro Togliatti, Dimitriy Manuilskiy, and M. Triliser. We see that Stalin's signature is absent, but no one doubts that it was he who conducted the entire operation against the KPP. In fact, the 16 August 1938 document is largely a rerun of an article called "Provocateurs at Work, a Letter From Warsaw" which appeared in January 1938 in KOMMUNISTICHESKIY INTERNATSIONAL, the organ of the Executive Committee of Comintern, and was written by J. Swiecicki. It contains the same accusations, namely that the KPP had become the tool of Pilsudski and everything it did was on the orders of the Pilsudski government, and that the party leadership consisted of Trotskiyists who wanted to create a schism between the workers' class and the USSR. The document is full of accusations like these.

[Dybicz] Let us say at this point that J. Swiecicki is the pseudonym of the article's author, whose real name is unknown.

[Kieszczynski] There are ideas about who it might be, but we do not know for sure. In any case, it was a Polish emigre living in the USSR. To give a general description of the Comintern document, one can say that it is a more vehement, accusatory version of Swiecicki's article. It is brimming with expressions like: traitors to the workers' class, betrayers of the ruling administration, renegades of socialism, and so on and so forth. In other words, the terminology is not much different to that used in the show trials of former collaborators of Stalin.

[Dybicz] And the other document?

[Kieszczysnki] That is a 26 May 1939 Comintern Executive Committee resolution to appoint a pilot group charged with forming a new communist party in Poland. What is special about it is not so much the decision to reestablish the party as the rules of membership that it lays down. Members of the new party could only be people who had never had anything to do with those who had been arrested or sentenced in the USSR for treason, who had not been in conflict with the Comintern, who had fought in Spain, who had spent many years in Pilsudski's prisons, or who had been active in mass organizations following the dissolution of the KPP. As we can see, most of the party was to consist of new people.

[Dybicz] The 26 May 1939 document seems to rule out the fact that Stalin tried to reach an agreement with Hitler before summer 1939.

[Kieszczynski] No one can say for sure, at least not for the time being. In any case, it is difficult to present views like these without access to USSR archives and without knowing the outcome of the work by the Polish-Soviet historical commission.

Participant Recalls Oxford Holocaust Meet

AU1808104988 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 13 Aug 88 p 14

[Article by Jerzy Tomaszewski: "Remembering for the Future"]

[Text] This was the title of an international conference that was held in Oxford last month. It was attended by more than 600 people from a great many countries, including a small group of Poles, the organizers having invited them and paid their costs. Before we left, we received two enormous volumes of reports containing 2,309 pages, and the conference itself saw the addition of a third volume, containing 529 pages, and several texts duplicated separately. They covered an extraordinary wide range of issues connected with the destruction of the Jews during World War II.

This was because the conference's secondary title was: "The Influence of the Holocaust and Genocide on Jews and Christians." Of course, in addition to attending the opening and close of the conference, participants met in groups to discuss specific sets of issues. The Polish participants were primarily involved in the discussions of the group that examined issues connected with relations between Jews and non-Jewish communities in central Europe after 1933. A separate group examined these relations within the context of Western Europe (including the position of the Vatican), and another group considered these problems in relation to English-speaking countries.

The remaining groups discussed issues pertaining to ethics, religion, philosophy, and life within Jewish communities (questions concerning relations between Jews and Christians covered the period extending from the beginnings of Christianity to the present day). The consequences of genocide were examined from the point of view of medicine, psychology, and politics, and the treatment of genocide in literature and other areas of culture, its significance for the contemporary world, and the place of the holocaust in university and school teaching programs was also considered. The common factor in all these various issues was the attempt to explain the factors that facilitated genocide (many of the guests who delivered reports considered the holocaust a warning for the contemporary world), to ascertain what phenomena could lead to a repetition of such a catastrophe—if not in Europe, then in some other part of the world—and to find ways of saving mankind from a disaster of this kind.

The historians concluded that one could point to facts and trends that appeared long before Hitler came to power attesting to the danger that such a holocaust might indeed take place. Some thinkers noticed this at the time and issued warnings, but their voices were ignored by the politicians. Thus, today it is the academic community's duty to watch over the course of events, to warn mankind in good time, to inform statesmen, and remind people of the past, so that such a catastrophe is not repeated.

One particularly important fact facilitating genocide is the lack of democratic freedoms. This is because it not only means that warnings cannot be heard, but also that autocratic authorities, over which the public can exercise no control, can act in way that is disastrous for mankind. What aids the development of a trend tending in this direction is disregard and contempt for different beliefs. It is true that the churches do not bear direct responsibility for the destruction of the Jews. However, the widespread intolerance of different ways of looking at the world that existed in the past, regarding one's own religion as the only valid one and considering other religions to be fundamentally false or wrong, and, in particular, disregard and dislike of Jews, the chosen people that rejected Christ when he appeared among

them, created conditions that were favorable for the development of antisemitism and ultimately, for regarding the Jews as standing outside the law.

A lot has changed in modern-day Christianity, especially in the Catholic Church. Nevertheless, more than one participant indicated an inconsistency of action which shows that the evil past has not been completely overcome.

The debates by historians dwelled heavily on Polish-Jewish relations. It would be difficult to summarize all the interesting reports and speeches, which are in a certain sense another step forward in investigating the most recent past. However, some of the remarks proved that there are still distorted views about the occupation in Poland. A good example of this was the question whether the texts of priests' sermons delivered during the occupation had survived. The participants were told that tape recorders were not widespread in Poland at that time, and besides, the conditions of the occupation ruled out overt criticism of the Hitlerite authorities from the pulpit.

I was struck by the relatively frequent general opinions on the subject of the attitude of Polish society toward the Jews. Just as frequent were general opinions about the attitude of Jewish society. And yet it has been known for a long time that each of these societies contained and still contains glaring differences of opinion within it, therefore it is easy to find examples of completely contrasting views and attitudes inside each one. The anti-Semites are fond of reminding everyone else that the ghetto police, which was in league with the occupiers, also took part in the "final solution." There is not much of a conclusion to be drawn from this, and it is just as difficult to consider the conduct of individual policemen in "navy blue" as evidence of the attitude of the whole of Polish society. An unbiased acquaintanceship with the reality calls for an examination of the relations prevalent in various communities, but many years of research still separate us from a complete knowledge thereof. So we should avoid hasty generalizations for the time being.

A warning against the future resounded particularly strongly at the 15 July public session in London, when a group of distinguished participants (including Elie Wiesel, recipient of the Nobel Prize for literature), presented the most important conclusions from the conference and answered questions from the public. In Poland, it would seem that some facts and issues no longer conceal any doubts, are generally known, and have become part of common knowledge. In London, and even more so across the ocean, it turns out that not everything is so obvious. Knowledge about the genocide is sometimes restricted to just a few communities, the press does not write much about it, and school textbooks also treat the subject laconically. Even the researchers into the Holocaust do not always know that documents, memoirs, and studies on the subject of the Jews began to be published in Poland in 1944, even before the end of hostilities, and have not ceased since then. Only the people doing the research have changed.

Playing down the Holocaust is a kind of symptom of growing amnesia. During the conference, I bought a book in an Oxford bookshop, and in it I found a leaflet which said that the legend about the Holocaust had been dealt a "final blow" by the findings of a certain Fred Leuchner of Canada, who is alleged to have said that the gas chambers of Auschwitz were unsuitable for killing people, and that any statements that they were used for this purpose are "propaganda lies propagated by the Allies." The leaflet was published by a World Revisionist Organization, unknown to me, and avoided giving the name of its chairman and address of its headquarters. In several places in the city, I saw additional copies of this absurd text stuck on walls.

Robert Maxwell was right when, speaking in London, he accused the English press of glossing over the conference despite the fact that so many distinguished scholars and well-known representatives of cultural and religious circles were attending it. In Oxford and in London, representatives of the major churches of the United Kingdom spoke, including Cardinal Basil Hume, archbishop of Westminster; and Chief Rabbi Lord Jakobovits. On 16 July, I searched in vain for a single word about the conference in THE TIMES, a paper known throughout the world. Was this omission caused by the fact that Robert Maxwell is also a newspaper publisher, and the competition did not want to give him publicity? This would have been a childish motive.

The climate of the conference is well illustrated by all the security measures, which were easier to apply in Oxford than in London. The day after our arrival, the porter of the student dormitory where we were staying already remembered our faces and some of our names. Security people checked all packages, handbags, and even pockets before we entered the hall. Perhaps they were scared that the anonymous "revisionists" would not restrict themselves to issuing a leaflet, but might employ more forceful arguments. Fortunately, nothing happened, and the conference—in accordance with the chairman's appeal—proceeded in a climate of calm worthy of such a distinguished gathering.

Let these side reminiscences show how important it is to recall the past all the time, for there are political forces that would like to forget it, thus making it easy to repeat the well-known scenario.

So far, I have only mentioned the conference organizers generally, so now one should add a few details. This time, it was not some academic institution that came out with the idea, but private individuals. This year is the 40th anniversary of the well-known Oxford publishing house, the Pergamon Press, and its owner, Robert Maxwell, will be 65 years old. He was born to a poor Jewish

family in a small Sub-Carpathian township that was then in Czechoslovakia but is now in the Soviet Ukraine. Maxwell survived the Holocaust and wants today's world to remember the tragedy of the Jewish people and to draw consequences for today and tomorrow. No wonder this seemingly cold and emotionless man wept when he opened the conference. His wife, Elisabeth Maxwell, also played a major role in organizing it.

Without a doubt, this is an unusual way of celebrating the birthday of a financial magnate, and not only in the British Isles. I believe everyone, regardless of his attitude toward great capital and its representatives, will wish Mr Maxwell the fulfillment of his desires.

Damages Asked for 3d Reich Slave Labor

LD1608165888 Warsaw PAP in English
1501 GMT 16 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 16—The issue of compensations for forced labourers of the 3rd German Reich has given rise to massive social emotion and hope in Poland. They have been furthermore enhanced by a recent decision about granting extra money to former concentration camp inmates and to victims of pseudo-medical experiments, wrote today's issue of the popular daily ZYCIE WARSZAWY.

Polish Government specified its stance toward individual compensations due to Polish slave workers in January 1947 and renewed it on many an occasion because of the negative attitude adopted with regard to the compensations by West German authorities.

On the advice of Polish Government, the United Nations addressed several times to the West German side notes pertaining to the state of realisation of reparations and to validity of Polish claims in the light of the international law. The U.N. notes received no proper reaction from Bonn authorities.

In December, 1986, another negative response of Bonn government was given to Polish authorities, regardless of the support lent to Polish claims for a long time by crew self-managements of certain former employers of Third Reich's forced labourers, the SPD (Social Democratic Party) and the Green Party.

In this situation, Polish Government dispatched another note on reparations to FRG authorities. Grounds and reasons for many-year efforts to obtain financial and moral compensation were presented therein.

The document defined solution of the reparations problem as "a litmus paper of truthfulness of the readiness to remove obstacles in the way toward reconciliation that the Federal Government has declared on many an occasion." That note did not encounter appropriate response from the addressee, and neither did subsequent ones.

Parallel to efforts made by Polish Government, many former Polish forced labourers attempted to obtain compensation individually, ZYCIE WARSZAWY went on.

Having consulted it with a number of political and public organizations, a group of public activists and former forced labourers set up on October 28 last year the Association of Poles Exploited by the Third German Reich (known currently as Association of Persons Aggrieved by the Third Reich).

By its very existence, the association corroborates justifiability of efforts made towards obtaining payment for damages. It also supports respective actions of Polish Government and reminds various circles in the FRG that the issue has not been forgotten and remains vivid.

The positive, practical angle of the association's operation and its establishment have stimulated the aggrieved to undertake efforts to confirm and certify their employment with German companies. The phenomenon is developing on a mass scale already and may be an essential trump in struggles for compensations for Polish forced labourers, concluded the daily.

Festive Events Abroad on Romania's National Day

AU2508182488 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1501 GMT 25 Aug 88

[Excerpts] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 25/08/1988—Homage-paying events were organized in numerous countries to mark the anniversary, on August 23, of 44 years since the outbreak of the antifascist and antiimperialist revolution of social and national liberation in Romania. [passage omitted]

Festive meetings were also organized in the town of Uzhgorod, in the Ukrainian SSR, and in Kishinev, in the Moldavian SSR. In the address made on the occasion, emphasis was placed on the importance of the historic act of August 23, 1944 for the development of the Romanian society, on the Romanian Army's contribution to the anti-fascist struggle, to the fight to liberate Hungary, Czechoslovakia and part of Austria, on the Romanian people's successes on the road of socialist construction. The fine economic collaboration between Romania and the USSR was also underscored.

A friendly meeting was arranged in Tirana to mark Romania's national day. In the attendance were Reis Malile, foreign minister, Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade, Professor Aleks Buda, president of the Academy of Sciences of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the deputy ministers of foreign affairs and foreign trade.

On the occasion, the importance was underlined of the act of August 23, 1944 for the Romanian people, and so was Romania's contribution to the victory over Hitler's Germany and the ascending course of the links of friendship and collaboration between Romania and Albania.

The town of Yen Bai in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, was the venue of a meeting of friendship.

Speaking about the significance of the historic event of August 23, 1944 were Ly Hai Hop, member of the Standing Committee of the provincial party committee, Do Khac Cuong, first deputy secretary of the provincial party committee, and Hoang Kien Son, chairman of the provincial people's committee.

An exhibition of documentary photographs was also opened.

The festive meeting organized in Tel Aviv was attended by Gid'on Pat, minister of science and technology, Abba Eban, chairman of the Foreign Affairs and Security Commission of the parliament, deputies, Foreign Ministry senior staff, Yitzhaq Korn, chairman of the Israel-Romania Friendship Association, representatives of political parties, men of science and letters, businessmen, journalists and a large audience.

The participants highlighted the significance of the historic act of August 23, 1944, Romania's contribution to defeating Nazi Germany, and the Romanian people's outstanding accomplishments in the period elapsed since that event.

Jerusalem was the venue of an evening of Romanian-Israeli friendship devoted to August 23. [passage omitted]

Defense Minister Issues Order of the Day

AU2508115188 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Aug 88 p 4

["Order of the Day of the Ministry of National Defense of the Socialist Republic of Romania" issued by Colonel General Vasile Milea, minister of national defense of the SR of Romania, on 23 August, Romania's National Day]

[Text] On 23 August we are celebrating the 44th anniversary of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation in an atmosphere of vigorous patriotic and revolutionary involvement, in which our people—closely united around the RCP and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and strongly mobilized by the theses, ideas, guidelines, and tasks of priceless theoretical and practical value that are included in the masterly report which Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu presented to the meeting of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee on 29 April 1988 and included in his recent speeches—are working resolutely to implement the historic decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and of the RCP National Conference, and to meet the RCP Central Committee plenum with outstanding results.

Romania's National Day is of profound significance, since it is taking place in a climate of strong patriotic commitment, in which Communists and our whole nation pay tribute to the 23d anniversary of the Ninth RCP Congress—which opened up a new period in the activity of the party and of the country, a period of great revolutionary changes in all socioeconomic areas, and a period which our whole nation, with great pride and gratitude, calls the "Nicolae Ceausescu Era."

In the conscience of our nation, the magnificent achievements recorded after the Ninth RCP Congress bear the unmistakable mark of the prominent personality and tumultuous revolutionary activity of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, brilliant leader of our party and state, great revolutionary thinker, enthusiastic patriot, founder of modern socialist Romania, and ardent militant for the triumph of the cause of national independence and progress and peace throughout the world.

With great respect, we express our profound gratitude to Comrade Academician Doctor Engineer Elena Ceausescu, outstanding politician and scientist of world renown, for the remarkable contribution she has been

making toward implementing the domestic and foreign policy of our party and of the programs for the socioeconomic development of our homeland, and toward ensuring the progress of national science, education, and culture, and the increased prestige of Socialist Romania in the world.

On the 44th anniversary of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation, Romania is a country with strong and modern industry, based on the latest discoveries in current science and technology, with socialist agriculture whose progress is in full swing, and with a strongly developing material and cultural well-being for the whole nation. Romania has acquired unprecedented international prestige throughout the world, thanks to the prodigious activity carried out by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Republic, a personality of great prestige and international authority in our times, a brilliant statesman, loved and respected by the whole Romanian nation, and well-known and highly valued everywhere in the world as a tireless promoter of the ideals of peace, friendship, and cooperation among nations, and as a great hero of peace.

Celebrating the historical, revolutionary event that took place 44 years ago, we pay ardent homage to all the communists, revolutionaries, antifascist fighters, and patriots who, under the RCP's leadership, fought with courage and self-denial for the supreme cause of our country's freedom and independence. At the same time, we pay tribute to the exemplary heroic actions of the Romanian officers and soldiers who won everlasting glory in the hard battles for the complete liberation of the national territory and, further, in the battles fought for the liberation of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Austria, and for the complete defeat of the Nazi Germany.

Likewise, we pay great tribute to the memory of the Soviet soldiers who bore the brunt of the war against fascism, to the people of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, and to all the antifascist fighters everywhere who made a contribution to defeating the common enemy.

Comrade soldiers, warrant officers, enlisted men, noncommissioned officers, officers, and generals:

In honoring the great holiday of 23 August with outstanding successes in battle and political training in all fields of military life, and in fulfilling the complex tasks devolving on you in the national economy, you prove your high socialist awareness and the responsibility, self-denial, and patriotism with which you honor the noble mission of defending your forefather's land and our revolutionary achievements and you prove yourselves to be reliable builders of socialism and communism in Romania.

Cherishing in your hearts, like a burning flame, the brilliant example of your forebears, and being proud of the socialist present and communist future of our homeland, work with self-denial for the unflinching implementation of the domestic and foreign policy of our party and state, of the guidelines and recommendations included in the magnificent work of the RCP Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and of your tasks under the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and the RCP National Conference. Devote all your energy, skill, and working ability to the irreproachable implementation of the national military doctrine, brilliantly founded by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the provisions of the supreme commander's directives, and the plan for combat and political training, and also devote all your energy to intensifying the activity of revolutionary education, and thus achieve new and superior quality in all fields of military life!

Mobilized by the party bodies and organizations, and by the youth organizations, work with revolutionary spirit to strengthen the combat capability of regular and large units, so that, as our supreme commander requires, our Army is ready at all times, together with the other forces of our national defense system and with all our people, to defend our great achievements, the territorial integrity, and the independence and sovereignty of our homeland—the Socialist Republic of Romania!

On the occasion of the holiday of 23 August, I extend to you warm congratulations and I wish you new and important successes in fulfilling all the missions bestowed upon you by the homeland, party, and people, and by our supreme commander, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu!

Long live the 44th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation in Romania!

Long live the RCP, headed by its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu!

Long live our free and independent homeland, the Socialist Republic of Romania!

Minister of National Defense Colonel General Vasile Milea

New Pay Increase Stage To Start 1 Sep

AU3108141788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1230 GMT 31 Aug 88

["New Categories of Working People Benefit From Higher Payment" AGERPRES]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 31/8/1988—Starting 1 September more than 600,000 persons whose incomes are under 2,000 lei monthly will receive higher payments. They are workers in agriculture, the food industry and silviculture, building-assembly, water management,

transport and telecommunications and in other sectors, who add to the other 900,000 persons that have received higher incomes since 1 August. This stage of raising low remunerations—30 per cent on an average—ends on 1 October.

The application of the current payment rise measures from which 7.9 million people as a whole will benefit—practically speaking each family if the pension increase is also considered—stands proof of the might of the Romanian economy and the correctness of the economic policy promoted by the RCP and Romanian state.

Equal Weight Given to Plan, Market in Economy

AU2708135688 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1250 GMT 27 Aug 88

["The Role of Commodity-Money Relationship in the Economic-Financial Mechanism as a Whole"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 27/08/1988—Under this headline "SCINTEIA" of 27 August runs an article contributed by Prof Mihai Paraluta, D.Econ., who refers to the Romanian experience in the management, planning and modernization of the economy. Here are excerpts from this article.

To debate the problems concerning the commodity-money relationship in the socialist economy is highly topical and concerns all the socialist countries that improve their systems and mechanisms of organizing and managing their national economy. Narrow, dogmatic outlooks existed both in practice and theory that even negated the commodity-money relationship in the socialist economy. There were and still are opinions that suggested the introduction of the principles of the capitalist market in the socialist economy, as the only solution of stimulating goods production. There are different interpretations and points of view on this vital problem for the development of socialist production on modern, intensive bases and the ensurance of plenty of commodities.

Romania adopted a number of measures, more particularly after the Ninth RCP Congress (1965), through which it continuously improved the management, planning and organization of the economy. The present economic-financial mechanism is conceived on the principles of the commodity-money relationship and presupposes the utilization of all categories of value, adapted to the specific character of the socialist property relations.

As a result of the steps taken after the plenary meeting of the CC of the RCP of March 1978, a modern and efficient economic and financial mechanism was developed in Romania. There is also an experience amassed in this domain, and this explains why there is no problem in Romania today to operate structural changes in the extant economic and financial mechanism, but to ensure a better application of the relevant principles and laws to the domains that no longer accord with the current stage, in view of boosting intensive-type production, of further diversifying the goods production.

The economic efficiency, the raising of profits up to the highest levels are fundamental coordinates, stand for the main purpose of the economic and financial mechanism created in Romania. The first problem posed was to provide to the whole mechanism of elaboration of the plan the base of the commodity-money relation, of contracts. The passage to the substantiation of the plan in all units upon contracts induced a change in the conception about planning. In this way, the market, the contract respectively, as its expression, became part and parcel of the plan. The economic contract became the basic instrument of settling the relations among the socialist units, in view of enlarging and diversifying the production of goods needed both for the development of production and for meeting better and better the population's needs of consumption, its solvent request in the required structure.

Market is the focus of any economic mechanism relying upon the commodity-money relationship. No economic mechanism can shun the market relations, the action of the law of value. Likewise, in the socialist economic system, the economic mechanism must have a planned character, the economic phenomena and processes are studied and controlled through plan.

As is known, in our country, as well as in other socialist countries, there was a tendency in practice to absolutize the plan, to estrange it from the requirements of the market, to underrate the commodity-money relations, the action of the law of value. The application of the new economic and financial mechanism based on self-management and self-administration is meant to ensure harmony between the plan and the market requirements, between production and consumption, between request and offer, all while maintaining relative price stability. Starting from these considerations, the law forbids the manufacturing of a product whatsoever unless there is home or foreign outlet for it.

The Romanian conception about self-management and self-administration requires equal attention both for the plan and for the market, without however underrating or overrating the role either of the plan or of the market. At the same time, the correlation of request and offer, the adjustment of the request to the level of the offer is not done through the price mechanism as it is in the capitalist economy. This means that the plan should be adjusted to the market requirements and the market should be adjusted in a planned, purposeful manner to the needs and possibilities of the national economy at a given moment.

For instance, in the 1981-1985 five-year period, a contradiction emerged in our country between production and consumption, between request and offer with a string of agro-industrial commodities, induced by the

international economic conjuncture, by the necessity to pay back the foreign debt to the capitalist countries, by a faster rise of remuneration as compared with labour productivity and consumer goods production, by other factors. This contradiction could have been settled by price rises. Some socialist countries employ the price in order to strike a balance between request and offer. Our country did not endorse such a solution, for, it would have meant lowering the masses' purchasing power, the living standard. Therefore, the efforts were chiefly directed toward increasing and diversifying the goods production, toward settling the issue by means of increasing the production.

According to Romania, the market mechanism becomes an important element of the plan mechanism. To give the enterprises full freedom, in behalf of autonomy or worker self-management, in price setting, would generate a steady tendency of price rise, the emergence of phenomena characteristic of the capitalist market economy.

The economic and financial mechanism in Romania is conceived in such a manner as to be apt to bar any possible emergence of inflation phenomena in economy. For a better substantiation of the tasks related to the plan of production at the level of industrial central departments and enterprises, of outstanding importance becomes the investigation of the market requirements, the carrying out of thorough marketing surveys and researches and of forecasts regarding the future requests with certain products and their level. Under such conditions are ensured the adjustment of the goods production to the requirements of the exchange on an internal and external plane and the flexibility of the proposals for the plan in relation to the changing economic conditions.

The economic and financial levers that are also categories of the commodity-money relationship, hold an important place in the economic and financial mechanism. The system of prices, labour remuneration, finance and credit are basic coordinates, key levers of the planning of the whole economic activity. When correctly employed, they are also economic stimuli, allowing for the fullest possible capitalization of the advantages and superiority of the new system, ensuring the employment of the economic laws in the single national plan of socio-economic development of the country.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 21-27 Aug

AU2708190088 [Editorial Report] Romania media report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 21-27 August period (sourceline given in parentheses):

On 21 August, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu visited the Arges River construction site. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1435 GMT 21 Aug 88)

On 22 August, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu attended an RCP Central Committee reception on Romania's National Day. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1838 GMT 22 Aug 88)

On 26 August, President Nicolae Ceausescu received a French parliamentary delegation led by Jacques Mossion, member of the Senate. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1726 GMT 26 Aug 88)

On 27 August, President Nicolae Ceausescu paid a working visit to Arad County. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0919 GMT 27 Aug 88)

On 21 August, Miu Dobrescu, member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee, addressed the conference of the United National Independence Party of Zambia (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1256 GMT 21 Aug 88) and on 25 August he was received by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0733 GMT 25 Aug 88)

On 25 August, Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, received a French parliamentary delegation led by Jacques Mossion, member of the Senate. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1442 GMT 25 Aug 88)

On 26 August, Ion Stoian, candidate member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee, attended a reception given by Bernard Kamwi, SWAPO permanent representative to Bucharest, on Namibia's Day. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1613 GMT 28 Aug 88)

Prilip Factory Workers Refuse To Work
LD3108225988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1423 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Prilep, 31 Aug (TANJUG)—Although at today's meeting of working people it was agreed that workers in the second shift at the Biljana textile factory in Prilep, who stopped work yesterday, would return to work, they are still refusing to do so. They came to the factory but are persisting in requesting higher pay and the annulment of the decision on increasing personal incomes by only 15 percent.

Zenica Secondary School Teachers Resume Work
LD3108122288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1047 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Zenica, 31 Aug (TANJUG)—Employees of the 29 November secondary school in Zenica ended their strike this morning and resumed work. After several hours of discussions and following yesterday's work stoppage they were promised that all their demands would be met. The basic wage for August will be raised to 500,000 dinars.

It was agreed that personal incomes should be paid by the 4th and the difference paid by 9 September.

Employees in the primary schools here are also in a difficult material position. A conference of trade union organizations in primary education has been scheduled for today, when the current situation will be analyzed.

Krusevac Cardboard Factory Strike Ends
LD3108174688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1319 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Krusevac, 31 Aug (TANJUG)—The strike which began 2 days ago at the Dusan Petronijevic cardboard and packing materials factory in Krusevac has ended after a promise by management that the money requested will be distributed. As is known, the workers went on strike because of the failure to pay out part of the funds refunded from the health and social protection self-managing community of interest, totalling 27 billion dinars.

Deputy Director General Nikola Peterovic stated that the money to be paid out will be secured by 8 September. He said rumors circulating among workers—that the money over which they went on strike had gone to the first division soccer team here, the Napredak club to buy and install floodlights at Mladost stadium—is incorrect.

Essential Target Inflation Rate Exceeded
LD3108175688 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1456 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Belgrade, August 31 (TANJUG)—The monthly index of retail prices in August was 14.7 percent up on July, as a result of price liberalization in Yugoslavia. Prices have risen 98.8 percent since last December, thus exceeding the target inflation rate of about 95 percent, which was considered essential for the success of Yugoslavia's economic policy agreed to with the International Monetary Fund.

The higher prices of electricity, petroleum products, bread and transportation have influenced the August price hike.

The year-to-year price increase in August stood at 198.4 percent.

Serbs, Montenegrins Protest in Pristina
AU3008184688 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1715 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Several thousand Serbs and Montenegrins gathered in the center of Pristina about 1 hour ago. The meeting began in front of the house of Katarina Trajkovic who was attacked 3 nights ago by unidentified people. Milisav Milic reports from Pristina:

At this precise moment, more than 10,000 Serbs and Montenegrins, mainly women, are in front of the house of Katarina Trajkovic. The attack on this old woman who has no relatives is only the occasion for this protest of Serbs and Montenegrins who are in this way trying to offer resistance to aggressive Albanian nationalism and to remain [word indistinct] of their hearth.

Kacusa Jasari, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, who was invited to speak to the participants of this protest gathering, has not come to this meeting. In a written reply to the Pristina Conference for the Social Activity of Women which was read this evening on an improvized rostrum by its president, Nada Tokovic, Kacusa Jasari said that she would speak with a delegation from this meeting.

Hysamedin Azemi, president of the Pristina LC Communal Committee, addressed the participants at the meeting. He said that order, peace, and security must be ensured throughout Kosovo for everyone equally.

At the protest meeting that is under way, one can here the slogans: We want freedom, We give our lives but we do not give Kosovo, Kosovo is Serbia, and various other patriotic messages.

Kosovo Serb Protest Leader Interviewed
AU3108143288 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Aug 88 p 3

[Zuzana Serences, Dragan Bisenic, Jordan Stevovic interview with Stevan Marinkovic, member of the Council for Protest Gatherings of Serbs and Montenegrins: "Weapons—A Synonym for the Level of Impatience"]

[Text] While speakers addressed the assembled people from the terrace of the Hall of Culture, the communal leaders expressed satisfaction with the rally, which had

passed without excesses. Eugen Kovac, president of the Titovo Vrbas SAWP Communal Committee, in conversation with Stepan Marinkovic, member of the Council for Protest Gatherings of Serbs and Montenegrins beyond the province, said that he had no experience with rallies, while Marinkovic explained how the council had acted to ensure that gatherings are conducted without incident. In the course of the meeting, we talked to Stevan Marinkovic, who said that members of the council had carried out all the preparations for the gathering, so that, as far as the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo were concerned, it would be ideologically pure, and that nationalists and those who might give a different tone to the gathering would be excluded. These are people who "view the Kosovo situation in an emotional way and who take extreme views on solving it."

"The council is in no sense an ideopolitical or alternative body. All members of the council are LCY members. It is something inevitable that has arisen out of a situation in which the ordinary person met with failure in solving problems," Marinkovic said.

[Question] What kind of experience has the council had with the Kosovo, Serbian, and other authorities with whom it has had contact?

[Answer] There have been conversations with the Kosovo leadership during working visits, the visits of working groups, and at the gatherings themselves. There have been no talks of any kind apart from this, nor will there be, because that would show that we are on some kind of equal footing. We do not want that. We work within the framework of the system, and this country must have the strength to solve the situation, not to invent forces outside the system and the LCY.

[Question] Objectively, you are partners, because a section of the Kosovo population trusts more in you than in any other authority in Kosovo.

[Answer] If people trusting us more is relevant, it would be good if there were more of such partnerships. If only the whole Kosovo leadership were partners of the Kosovo people. Partnership does not in any sense mean an alternative power. We are not that. We advocate that the system should solve the situation, and the fact that the people place more trust in us than in the Kosovo leadership is a question of the conflict between the leadership and the people.

[Questions] Is it true that you appeal to the Army?

[Answer] I would not be able to tell you exactly. The council is not appealing to the Army. If we say that we work within the system, then the system knows who will decide on this. We want to say that the situation is such that they must take every step provided for by the Constitution that the situation demands. Whether that step involves using the Army, political action, or paperwork, as has been done until now, the lawful organs will decide.

[Question] You are accused of being in favor of imposing a state of emergency.

[Answer] The situation now is one of emergency; it just has not been declared to be one. At that moment when a man decides that his life is in danger, the situation is de facto one of emergency, quite apart from whether it is one de jure.

[Question] Miroslav Solevic, a member of the council, has several times declared that the LC and the public and state security services in Kosovo must be suspended.

[Answer] My personal view is that it is not so much a matter of the suspension as of the reorganization of the LC. There have been attempts to purge hostile elements through differentiation, but without results. I do not believe that the hostile forces operating in the Kosovo LC are numerically strong, and reorganization should be carried out for this reason.

[Question] What do the calls "We want weapons," and "Give us weapons" mean?

[Answer] As a member of the council, a Communist, and of course as a citizen of Kosovo, I think that there is something positive in this. This demand should show the Yugoslav public that our patience is at an end. However, using weapons to solve problems is unthinkable in this area. We must live together with the Albanians. The demand for arms is an expression of the level of impatience, and not a way of settling the Kosovo situation. Nobody on the council, and no Serb, Montenegrin, or Moslem, believes that a solution can be found through arms.

[Question] Many people outside Kosovo fear armed conflict in the province.

[Answer] That is a good thing. Those who are afraid realize that our patience has come to an end.

[Question] Does that mean that if matters continue in this way, things could come to such a point?

[Answer] The party must not permit it, and the council has neither considered it, nor wishes to consider it. Another way out, when patience is at an end, is to leave. Weapons do not come into consideration, and if a solution is still not forthcoming, then the way out lies in leaving. Finally, the question of whether the situation in Kosovo will be resolved depends on whether people want to emigrate or not. We had weapons, and plenty of them, and we still cannot heal the wounds of 40 years ago.

Kosovo's Morina Regrets Assault on Serb Abbess

AU3108153688 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Rahman Morina, provincial secretary for internal affairs of Kosovo, visited Gracanica Convent and expressed his regrets to Abbess Tatjana for the assault on her on 28 August, Assumption Day, perpetrated by an unknown militiaman. Morina said that security organs have undertaken to do everything possible to identify the perpetrator of this act and punish him most harshly. Morina said that in his view this case will not upset relations between members of the security organs and members of the convent. Abbess Tatjana thanked Rahman Morina, provincial secretary for internal affairs, and said that the assault will not disturb the traditionally good relations between members of the convent and security organs, according to an announcement issued by the Provincial Committee for Information.

Slogans, Chanting at Titovo Vrbas Rally

AU3008160488 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Aug 88 p 3

[Unattributed report on rally in Titovo Vrbas on 27 August: "Slogans, Chanting, Rhymes..."]

[Text] The participants had already gathered before the start of the rally, so that the column that paraded down the main street could be formed as early as 1330. It was joined by groups from other places in Vojvodina: Novi Sad, Stara Pazova, Kovin, Pancevo, Karadjordjevo, Lovcenac, Kljajici, Srpski Miletic, the Jugoalat enterprise of Novi Sad, and Titovo Vrbas itself.

Many banners were carried by the column. The 10-year-old Vladan Velickovic and his 8-year-old brother Marjan carried a banner reading "They attack us children." In front of them, separate from the column, Radovan Trajic, former cadet of the Fourth Platoon of the 20th Class of the People's Militia of the Serbian State Secretariat for Internal Affairs, behaved somewhat grotesquely, carrying the graduation picture of his class from 1959 in his hand, and wearing Tito's picture round his neck, while beside him there was a man with a pipe and a home-made sandwich-board covered with newspaper clippings criticizing bureaucracy.

The column proper was led by Ilija Zivkovic from Vrsac and Misa Jankovic from Kovin. Slogans rolled like waves from the beginning of the column to its end, so that the entire column rarely shouted the same slogan at the same time.

Besides the very numerous streamers in support of the Serbian LC Central Committee and Slobodan Milosevic, the column also carried banners saying "Kosovo is ours," "They have divided us long enough," "United Serbia," "New Constitution—gateway to freedom," "No brotherhood without unity," "A unified SFRY—guarantee of our security," "Krunic and Matic, the people are not with you," "There are two Kamenicas in Serbia—Sremska and Kosovska," "We demand an undivided Serbia; we demand the Yugoslavia of AVNOJ," [Antifascist National Liberation Council of Yugoslavia] "Armchair-holders, your souls be damned, you have cut up the country into pieces," "We will always be Serbia," "Down with sympathizers with Albanian irredentism," "Article 191 of the Serbian Constitution guarantees freedom of assembly," "The voice of the people must be decisive," "Kosovo and Metohija belong to Serbia and Yugoslavia," "One Constitution," "Stop genocide," "We will pay no more blood-tribute in Kosovo and Metohija," "No empire for the monsters," "Down with Vlasi; down with Krunic," "Krunic managed the pig affair," "The people write history, not Krunic, Vrhovec, and Vlasi," "Pecinci jails journalists," "We will lay down our lives for a better future," "We do not need tomorrow those who made mistakes yesterday," "Do we have the right to our own country?" "Slobodan Milosevic and Radovan Radonjic are our proletarians," "O Serbia, our strength and stay, let no bandits plunder you," "Only concord can save Serbia," ...

The bus by which the Kosovars from Istok had traveled was "wrapped" in a large banner inscribed with the names of Kosovo villages, above which was written: "We are not nationalists, but harried and outraged people. Do not allow us to emigrate from our age-old hearths. We know who sold Kosovo. All together, from Triglav to Djevdjelia, in the struggle against the counterrevolution in Kosovo." Most cars also carried stickers.

There were chants of "United Serbia," "Vojvodina—Serbia," "Kosovo—Serbia," "Down with those who divide us," "We want a referendum," "Down with the sympathizers with Albanian irredentism," "Crush the fascists," "Give us weapons," "We will defend Kosovo," "You have failed Kosovo," "Down with Vlasi," "Down with Krunic," "Long live Slobodan Milosevic," "We will lay down our lives, but we will not give up Kosovo," "Down with the leadership that Tirana supports," and "We are going to Prekale."

There were chants of "Slobo, freedom," about the president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium [the name "Slobodan" derives from the Serbo-Croatian word for "freedom"], and the following song was heard: Slobodan, your name means freedom. Loved by young and old. As long as Slobo walks the earth The people can't be sold. The people have a single care: Who can rise as Tito's heir? Now the hand of fate has beckoned: Slobodan—Tito the Second! Slobodan, the people's son! The people's thoughts on freedom run. After this, "Comrade Tito, We Swear to Thee" was sung.

Kosovo Official Receives U.S. Envoy

LD3108175088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1408 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Pristina, 31 Aug (TANJUG)—Remzi Koljgeci, president of the Kosovo Presidency, today received U.S. Ambassador to Yugoslavia, John Scanlan who is on a

1-day visit to the province. The U.S. ambassador was reportedly briefed on the development of Kosovo and the measures taken to step up socioeconomic development.

Kosovo, Yugoslavia Need One Another
AU2908195088 Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 22 Aug 88 p 5

[Radovan Balac commentary: "Kosovo and Yugoslavia"]

[Text] There is no Yugoslavia without Kosovo and there is no Kosovo without Yugoslavia—this paraphrase of Stipe Suvar's words at the 16th session of the LCY Central Committee was also repeated at the Titograd meeting and totally confirms how complete this link is and how much the Kosovo drama increasingly shakes Yugoslavia. The dilemma of whether it is necessary to bring the drama to an end more quickly or not, surely does not exist for those who cherish this country and its socialist, self-managing, and federal character.

Such an orientation has been unambiguously confirmed several times, not only at the sessions of the LCY Central Committee, but also in the SFRY Assembly and at all party meetings in the republics and provinces and at all meetings which discussed the counterrevolution in Kosovo, the way and methods to eliminate irredentists and to ensure a peaceful and safe life for the Serbian and Montenegrin people, as well as for the members of other peoples and nationalities in Kosovo and to restore mutual trust and strengthen intranational relations. Even after all these decisions, the Kosovo scar has not healed in 7 years but hurts and bleeds more and more. Could the national saying about a serious illness needing a serious cure apply in this case? What is the serious cure in this case and where would such treatment lead us?

The meeting in Titograd after Novi Sad, Pancevo, and Nova Pazova, confirmed, as far as Kosovo is concerned, the already recognized solidarity with the huge troubles of the Serbs and Montenegrins in this province and expressed unambiguous support in finding a quicker solution to the problems that have amassed over decades and that have caused the rivers of emigrants to flow out of Kosovo and into all parts of the country. However, it showed that Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo see a solution to their drama solely in the changes to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia, as formulated in Belgrade, but also in the replacement of a large number of Yugoslav and especially Vojvodina leaders. They have been picked as the ones to be blamed for the Kosovo drama not being solved more quickly and as sociologists say, in this stage of our crisis culprits are being sought for everything that is no good. There have been attempts to realize these aims through protest meetings which seem to have no end, just as there is no end to the ways and methods of realizing the aims.

These and similar aims, but also the undoubtedly unacceptable ways of solving the Kosovo situation which should not be disregarded, are acquiring growing support at explosive and heady meetings at which that dangerous line between the national and the patriotic and between sincere feelings and solidarity with the sufferings of a people and the nationalist, is either crossed as quick as a flash or is obscured. More and more often, one also hears similar demands to the demand for the introduction of a military administration in Kosovo, or the demand for weapons to be distributed, which was heard loudly in Titograd. Is this the right way to solve the situation in Kosovo or does it lead to a fratricidal war which cannot be won, but only lost?

What is the meaning of the pictures displayed at the meetings of various national leaders and historical figures, especially of those who organized uprisings and revolts? Is this an appeal for such methods from the past to be used to solve our difficult present as well? Against whom should people revolt or organize a rebellion? An appeal for such methods after the longest period of peace for the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities, could only pull them into unprecedented bloodshed in which neither the Constitution nor life itself would be important anymore.

The Titograd example confirms the suspicions that these gatherings are becoming increasingly difficult to control and that every subsequent meeting is susceptible to the danger of serious excessive behavior and even bloodshed. The two attempts—in Nova Pazova and Titograd—to organize the meetings under the leadership of the SAWP and legal organs, demonstrate that this is not possible just as it is not possible to ensure that these gatherings will be of a democratic nature. In Nova Pazova, Djuro Kovacevic, secretary of the SAWP communal conference, was booed and not permitted to speak. Something similar happened in Titograd to Vida Knezevic, president of the mass organization in Titograd. As soon as they stepped onto the rostrum, they were greeted with whistles, shouts, and protests, regardless of what they intended to say and intended to support. The meetings are directed by the Organizational Committee from Kosovo Polje, but the Titograd example showed that not even this committee always managed to calm the inflamed passions.

There is no doubt that the organization of these meetings demonstrates that this involves a well-organized and prepared movement which runs parallel to the LC, even though it still refers to the LC and gives it support. Even the decisions of the highest party organs that the meetings should stop, are not being considered and respected. This once again demonstrates that the LCY Central Committee made a mistake when it put off solving conflicts within the party, believing that tempers would have cooled by fall. Not only have the meetings not stopped, but new ones are being organized more and

more often and are appearing bigger and on a mass scale and more explosive and heady, which not only does not contribute to unity but creates an increasingly wide gulf.

There is no doubt that responsibility for the Kosovo drama should be assessed and apportioned at all levels. However, there is also no doubt that this cannot be done on the streets and according to the bias appraisals of only one group of people. In our and every other democratic society, this has always been done in legal bodies chosen for this purpose considering reasoned arguments and facts and not loud name-calling. Or there is no wish at any price to abandon the methods which have already been well tested and demonstrated in several cases (regardless of the justification for them). It remains to be seen whether the September session of the LCY Central Committee will manage to break the unbreakable line of a "parallel movement" and clearly apportion the blame for everything that has been happening in the last few months. It is clear that one can no longer run from this and such decisions cannot be postponed. The hot summer has shown where that could lead to. Only the question remains of whether the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium have the strength and the determination for such a step and whether this will be according to the criterion of those who have already "assessed" the responsibility of many Yugoslav leaders. Will the Kosovo drama begin to calm down or will it become increasingly inflamed and overheat into a Yugoslav drama?

Skopje TV Views Kumanovo Demonstrations

AU3108203788 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Going by the hysteria, vandalism, and fanatism manifested during demonstrations there the day before yesterday, Kumanovo resembled Kosovo of 1981. These events can only be assessed as a counterrevolutionary act, a Skopje Television commentary points out. Vandalism and hatred have pulled the masks off the alleged defenders of constitutional rights; those who have abused their word of honor and Kumanovo youths for their dark aims have confirmed that education and a constitution are what they are least worried about. Albanian nationalists and separatists in Macedonia have forgotten caution and shown their true colors. Citizens of the communes of Bujanovac, Presevo, Gnjilane, and Urosevac have also taken part in the Kumanovo demonstrations.

Photo Exhibition on Local Disturbance Removed

LD2608221688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1410 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Vevcani 26 Aug (TANJUG)—An exhibition of documents and photographs relating to the well-known incidents last year in Vevcani near Struga [a local dispute over water supplies led to clashes with the police], which was opened in this village on 7 August—the anniversary of these events—was yesterday "transferred" from the rooms of the social club. An attempt was made to set up the exhibition in another building which, however, is not suitable for accomodating this event.

The exhibition was "transferred" at the request of the Struga municipal secretariat for internal affairs, and it was explained that this building, the owner of which according to a contract of unlimited duration with the local community is precisely the secretariat for internal affairs, is needed to store documentation and equipment for the needs of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs and area police stations.

The building also houses the council of the local community and sociopolitical organizations of the village, which likewise had to remove their documents.

In Vevcani the "transfer" of the exhibition is being linked to the beginning of the Struga poetry festival, with the idea being that, in fact, participants in this event will not see the exhibited photographs and documents.

In the middle of September the exhibition is supposed to move to Ljubljana.

Mikulic Receives Islamic Community Delegation

LD3008234188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1636 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Aug (TANJUG)—In Belgrade today, FEC President Branko Mikulic today received a delegation of the Islamic Religious Community [IRC] in the SFRY, led by Reis-ul-Ulema Hadzi Hafiz Husein Mujic, on a protocol visit. In the IRC delegation were Idriz Demirovic, president of the Supreme Assembly of the SFRY IRC; Jetis Bajrami, president of the Council of Elders of the IRC in the Serbian SR; and Hamdija Jusufspahic, Mufti of Belgrade. The reception was attended by Momcilo Vucinic, a member of the FEC and chairman of the FEC Commission for Relations With Religious Communities.

The Reis-ul-Ulema stressed that relations between the stage organs and the IRC are good and that the IRC is entirely satisfied with its position and the conditions for the fulfilment of religious rights and freedoms in Yugoslavia. He stressed that it is of exceptional importance that all the citizens of Yugoslavia, regardless of their religious and national affiliation, are in favor of strengthening brotherhood, unity, and mutual trust. Starting from this, the IRC wishes to launch an initiative for an agreement with other religious communities on common action to strengthen brotherhood and unity in Kosovo, to eliminate violence and prevent the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, and to create an atmosphere of togetherness and good-neighborliness among all the nations and nationalities living there.

Reis-ul-Ulema Mujic informed the FEC president that 95 percent of the Islamic clergy are members of the Association of Clergy and that action is being taken to

bring all Islamic clergy into membership of this association. He also spoke of the orientation of the IRC to participate actively in building the self-managing and socialist development of Yugoslavia.

Branko Mikulic stressed that it is vital for all social factors in Yugoslavia to involve themselves fully in strengthening the brotherhood and unity of all nations and nationalities, for chauvinist and nationalist behavior to be eliminated energetically, and for us to orientate ourselves with all available forces toward the implementation of economic and social reform in our country.

The FEC president expressed satisfaction that the IRC intends, together with other religious communities, to engage in strengthening brotherhood, unity, and mutual trust in Kosovo. In connection with this, Mikulic stressed that nationalist violence in Kosovo and the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins must be prevented by all forces. It is vital to establish relations of trust and to intensify the perception that there is no choice for all the nations and nationalities in Kosovo other than to live together, alongside each other, in brotherhood and harmony, accompanied by full mutual respect for national, religious, and other rights.

Iraq's Ramadan To Arrive on Working Visit 1 Sep

LD3108111388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0842 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Belgrade, 31 August (TANJUG)—At the invitation of FEC President Branko Mikulic, Taha Yasin Ramadan, member of the Supreme Committee of the Revolution Command Council and first deputy prime minister of the Republic of Iraq, will arrive on 1 September this year on a 2-day official working visit to Yugoslavia.

Iran Foreign Official Delivers Khamene'i Message

LD0109035588 Tehran IRNA in English 1800 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Belgrade, August 31, IRNA—Iranian deputy Foreign Minister Mohammad-Hoseyn Lavasani met Yugoslav President Raif Dizdarevich here today and handed him a message from President 'Ali Khamene'i.

It is believed the message refers to the latest developments in the Persian Gulf following the ceasefire agreement and the initiation of peace talks in Geneva.

The Iranian president also expressed his interest in the further promotion of friendly relations and cooperation between Iran and Yugoslavia.

Lavasani, who is foreign affairs deputy for international affairs arrived here today from Geneva, where he formed part of Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati's delegation to the Iran-Iraq peace talks.

Loncar Receives Minister

LD3108173888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1232 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Aug (TANJUG)—Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar has had talks with Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Mohammad Lavasani, who is in Belgrade for consultations between the two foreign affairs departments.

Lavasani reported in detail on the peace negotiations underway in Geneva between Iran and Iraq, expressing optimism for their successful outcome, and paying tribute to Yugoslavia for its support in bringing about a peaceful settlement to the conflict and for its constructive role in the UN Security Council. During the talks, a broad exchange of opinions also took place on the forthcoming ministerial confernce of nonaligned countries in Cyprus, and both sides noted the exceptional importance of this meeting, bearing in mind the time at which it was being held, the political situation, and the changes which have taken place in the world, particularly in the regions of crisis. It was stressed that the end of the struggle and the movement toward a peaceful solution of the Iran-Iraq conflict, the agreement on southern Africa, positive moves with regard to the Afghanistan issue, the start of negotiations on the Cambodian problem, and developments in the Middle East—and particularly in the occupied territories—would all represent a further stimulus to the activities of the Nonaligned Movement and its involvement in improving the general situation in the world and in the area of economic relations.

Kazimir Vidas, assistant federal secretary for foreign affairs, also had talks with Mohammad Lavasani.

IRNA on Visit, Talks

LD0109035388 Tehran IRNA in English 1701 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Belgrade, August 3, IRNA—Iran's deputy minister for foreign affairs, Mohammed-Hoseyn Lavasani, on Wednesday briefed Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar in detail on the course of the Iran-Iraq peace talks at present taking place in Geneva.

The Iranian deputy minister is in Belgrade from Geneva for consultations on the foreign affairs of both countries.

Lavasani expressed optimism for a successful outcome to the Geneva talks and gave due recognition to what he termed Yugoslavia's constructive role at the U.N. Security Council, in its efforts to contribute to a peaceful solution to the Iraq-Iran war.

The two men exchanged views on the forthcoming non-aligned ministerial conference in Cyprus, which they judged to be of particular significance in view of recent changes in the international political situation, particularly in crisis areas.

The non-aligned movement, they said, would be concentrating on a peaceful solution to the hostilities between Iran and Iraq, agreement on South Africa, favourable action on the Afghanistan question, the start of negotiations on the Kampuchean problem and developments in the Middle East, particularly in the territories occupied by Israel.

Lavasani also met with Deputy Foreign Minister Kazimir Vidas.

Official on Attitudes Toward Iran, War

LD2608212388 Tehran IRNA in English 2112 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Belgrade, Aug. 26 IRNA—Leading Yugoslav spokesman of foreign affairs Dr. Ranko Petkovich has criticised Yugoslav attitudes towards the Islamic revolution and said that Iran is disappointed with the attitude of the Non-Aligned Movement towards the Iraq-Iran war.

Recently returned from Tehran, where he attended the International Conference on Aggression and Defence, Petkovich said in an interview: "Why hide it? Iran considers that the Non-Aligned Movement did not behave consistently with its moral values. It refused to condemn the aggressor and by adopting a neutral stance, played ipso facto into the hands of Iraq."

Iran, however, he added, will not only remain within the movement, but will increase its presence and activity.

In reply to a question on what Iranians thought of this country, Petkovich said that Iran appreciated Yugoslavia as a country which had itself been under severe pressure at times from the super powers, but had nonetheless eventually managed to establish a high level of understanding and cooperation with them.

With unusual frankness, Petkovich continued: "This image of Yugoslavia has not been seriously damaged in Iran in spite of our sometimes inept and inappropriate conduct towards aspects of the Islamic revolution and the war."

Comparing the Islamic revolution to the October and Yugoslav Revolutions, he said: "My impression is that the entire world establishment greeted it with hostility, because it shook the foundations of their interests. Just as the Bolsheviks were accused of eating children, Islamic fundamentalism has been represented as the greatest threat to the contemporary world."

We should learn, he said, to distinguish between the sometimes unacceptable aspects of all revolutions and the outright condemnation of the revolution itself.

The Islamic revolution, Petkovich continued, was shared by the enormous majority of the population and had far-reaching consequences abroad.

"It seems to me that in our rejection of Islamic fundamentalism, we fell under the influence of those who for their own reasons clashed with the Islamic revolution. I would plead that we should free ourselves from having too much regard for second and third parties, and study the Iranian situation now and in the future... This great country whose entry into the Non-Aligned Movement we once applauded with such enthusiasm," Petkovich said.

Turning to the question of peace, Petkovich said that Imam Khomeyni's acceptance of the ceasefire once again confirmed his strength and authority as a leader. The ruler of Islam will without any shadow of doubt, survive in peace as it survived the war.

"All those who up to recently boycotted Iran are now rushing in as fast as they can, as they expect it to become a Mecca for international business. A great political race for Iran has begun, regardless of Islamic fundamentalism, which was yesterday so important," Petkovich commented.

In reply to a question of the future of Yugoslav enterprises on Iranian markets, Dr Petkovich pointed out that Yugoslavia's economic exchange with Iran was now even greater than with India or China, and could grow considerably in the years to come.

Mikulic Receives India's Natwar Singh

LD3108101588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1641 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Aug (TANJUG)—Branko Mikulic, president of the FEC, today received Natwar Singh, Indian minister of state for external affairs, who is on a working visit to our country.

In their talks, in which Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, also took part, they said that the recent visit of Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to Yugoslavia was very successful and contributed to the further strengthening of relations between Yugoslavia and India and to their joint involvement in the resolution of major international problems.

Mikulic and Singh also exchanged views on questions of bilateral relations, preparations for the forthcoming ministerial conference of nonaligned countries on Cyprus, economic and scientific and technical cooperation of the developing countries, and other issues of interest to both countries. They also discussed tripartite cooperation between Yugoslavia, India, and Egypt. It was noted that our economic cooperation has shown a significant upturn in the past 2 years. Both governments should further support this trend and involve themselves more in the realization of higher forms of economic cooperation. There was mention of the need for greater involvement by the nonaligned countries in international relations and for the activities of the movement to be adjusted to the demands of current trends and the international situation.

Official on Ties With USSR, Nonalignment

PM3108131588 Damascus AL-BA'TH in Arabic 18 Aug 88 p 8

[Interview with Yugoslav Information Secretary Svetozar Duratovic by Niyazi Mustafa in Belgrade on 11 August]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Mustafa] How does Yugoslavia view the new political thinking and changes in the USSR? How does Yugoslavia assess these developments, especially after the Soviet leader's visit to Yugoslavia? Will these developments have a positive or negative impact on world struggle and liberation movements? And what is the effect of these developments on the Nonaligned Movement?

[Duratovic] Essential to us are the requirements for restructuring. Fluctuations show no mercy. [sentence as published] Constant and dynamic changes are the basis for developing socialism. Solutions of the past have been exhausted. Solutions which were realistic in the past are now ineffective in terms of meeting the requirements of present reality. Thus, changes now taking place in the socialist countries indicate that there is no permanent solution to any problem and that mankind must develop and progress; and this applies to socialism.

[Mustafa] Did Comrade Gorbachev's visit to Yugoslavia add anything new to Yugoslav-Soviet relations?

[Duratovic] Of course, during Comrade Gorbachev's visit to Yugoslavia, the political document was signed, indicating once again that there is no special model or form of socialism. There is no one particular road to socialism. Every state has the right to build socialism according to its realistic circumstances. The political document stressed the need for cooperation on the basis of mutual respect between the two states, mutual respect between the two peoples, and mutual respect between the two parties. I believe that the philosophy of the Yugoslav revolution is as follows: There is no perfect person in the world that can be a master of someone else; or a perfect state that can be a master of another state; or a perfect party that can be a master of another party. This means that cooperation should be on equal terms. On the basis of this philosophy, we have chosen self-guidance and a nonalignment policy.

[Mustafa] How do you assess the situation in the Middle East? And, in your opinion, how can a suitable solution to this big international problem be achieved?

[Duratovic] The Palestinian question is a deep wound in the conscience of mankind. For this reason, Yugoslavia's policy remains the same: A just and permanent solution to the Palestinian problem must be secured. And this is the responsibility of all progressive forces in the world.

[Mustafa] Zionist Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir 2 or 3 days ago stated that Syria is preparing for an attack against Israel. This is in the knowledge that the Israeli leaders used this kind of statement whenever they launched an attack against the Arab countries? How do you assess this statement?

[Duratovic] Of course, a solution in the Middle East must be worked for in isolation from the line of force and war, which cannot be a means to resolve disputes and differences. And from this point stems the effective role of the Nonaligned Movement. The Nonaligned Movement cannot play the role of an observer regarding what is agreed between the big powers. What is happening to the Palestinian people and what is happening to the uprising, as well as the methods used to abort all means of finding a just solution for the Palestinian people, are certainly far from civilization and humanity. And we must not enter into the 21st Century with this scandalous shame. [passage omitted]

Loncar Meets Colombian Foreign Minister

LD0109043888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1206 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Aug (TANJUG)—Julio Londono Paredes, foreign minister of the Republic of Colombia, arrived today on an official visit to Yugoslavia.

At Belgrade airport, Paredes was welcomed by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and colleagues.

Talks between the two ministers begin tomorrow. The key topic, it is expected, will be the latest preparations of the nonaligned prior to their ministerial conference in Cyprus.

Newspaper Views East European 'Anniversaries'

AU3008105688 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27-28 Aug 88 p 11

[Vlado Teslic commentary under the "Week in the World" rubric: "Unpleasant Anniversaries"]

[Text] All countries and particularly nations cherish the tradition of marking the anniversaries of past events. Events are remembered for being good or bad. Remembrances of events that meant defeats and disasters seem to be more frequent.

As far as East European countries are concerned, these traditions are richer now with the addition of events from more recent history—events connected with the domination and policy of the Stalinist regime in the USSR. Many events occurred in August and among them the most significant is the "Prague Spring of 1968" which was followed by the military intervention of the Warsaw Pact countries, except Romania. Polish strikes

and unrest are also connected with August, particularly those of 1980 when Solidarity was founded with the ambition to make it a partner of the government and the party.

Even if one could expect the Poles to mark 1980 once again because they have been doing so in a persistent and almost irrational manner, and have more than a sufficient number of occasions and dates as unpleasant memories, one hardly expected demonstrations on Wenceslas Square in Prague despite the traditions of the Czech national rebellion and the sacrifices made on this famous square. It was even less to be expected from the capitals of Soviet Baltic republics where demonstrations were held last weekend against the famous, and it seems still controversial, pact signed by Ribbentrop and Molotov in August 1939 which was followed by the annexation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania by the Soviet Union.

August was also celebrated in neighboring Hungary, but it was done in their well-known compromising way, whereby national consciousness and the pragmatism of current politics are mixed together. Therefore, the Hungarians marked St Stephan's day, for the first king whose power extended over the present Hungarian borders, the Constitution of the People's Republic of Hungary, and the harvest day, naturally along with the continuation of protests against Romania.

The Anti-Stalinist "Memorial" [subhead]

One can hardly overlook here two basic elements: historical and the very topical sociopolitical. Thus, on the one hand, the entire Stalinist complex of a united camp and alleged internationalism is falling apart and there is an attempt to rehabilitate national history and independence, as well as other democratic achievements. On the other hand, all these demonstrations express a multilayered rebellion and a creative restlessness in trying to escape the vicious circle of political and economic crisis as quickly and resolutely as possible.

The series of articles on the "Prague Spring 1968" that were carried by BORBA recently convincingly points out the phenomena and roots of the international crisis and divisions in Europe of the fifties and sixties, as well as the entire depth and harmfulness of international relations being based on hegemony and camp concepts.

The "Prague Spring" is certainly a constituent part of a liberation process in Europe, which is as national in nature as it is socialist, democratic, and antihegemonist, which was begun as early as 1948 in Yugoslavia, and which from time to time surfaced in other East European countries albeit with no greater results.

It is incomprehensible, however, that that which is called "official reaction" of both Prague and Moscow concerning the commemoration of 1968 still insists upon old evaluations of "justified intervention." Is this an attempt to rehabilitate Stalin's policy of 1945 according to which everything is permitted where the Soviet Army has reached, something which is no longer the official stance of the new Soviet leadership? Is it not a kind of fear not so much of Dubcek's rehabilitation as of the concept of democratic socialist reforms which cannot be avoided and which are in a way already officially proclaimed in Prague?

Resistance to democratization and perestroyka is obviously great not only in Prague but also in Moscow. What is encouraging, however, are rallies of tens of thousands of Estonians, Lithuanians, and Latvians which tell so much more than demonstrations in Prague because of the very fact that they were permitted. These meetings have shed the right kind of light on the policy forced and tailored by Stalin, but are far more significant for their topical political contents and messages, because they demonstrated strong national consciousness and democratic nature, and because in a way they fit into Gorbachev's concept of glasnost and restructuring. This will certainly not be spoiled by national flags, or slogans concerning Masaryk and Dubcek shouted by young Czechs who do not know much about the two, nor by slogans addressed to Soviet soldiers to "go home" even more so because these are now the slogans and policy of Moscow as well.

The "Memorial" (a museum complex) to the victims of Stalinism and its practice, which was founded in Moscow this week under the patronage of artistic associations and the weeklies OGONEK and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, certainly tells more about the bitter struggle waged against Stalinist times and heritage. In their own way, Czechs, Estonians, Lithuanians, and Latvians have waged this struggle and sooner or later, others will also do so.

(Stalinist) Hindrances [subhead]

The struggle for reforms, especially thorough reforms in all socialist countries, will be much more complex and uncertain. This is now particularly obvious from the difficulties that the Polish Government's economic reforms are having, which caused strikes by miners and shipyard workers, and during which "illegal" opposition returned to the scene.

Everything is the same as it was in 1980 and 1981: the sides in the dispute, mediators, slogans, and the viciousness of the dispute. There is only no "martial law" of which the government is wary, mostly because of the possibility of a repeated blockade and isolation of Poland by the West. Another difference is certainly in the fact that now the West is wary of extending direct support to strikes and political opposition, a fact which gives the government greater space for maneuvering.

Formally seen, government reforms of the economy on market principles were met with the resistance of a large number of workers. The economy is very much burdened by an inefficient system and a wasteful industry in the social sector, poor harvests, and foreign debt totalling $39 million. However, the government and the party still retain their old stances concerning the political system, because they do not want to share power, and least of all to do so with Solidarity. Leaders of this organization do not consider economic problems to be in the forefront; it would be easy to solve them if Solidarity were a political partner. Hence, the main slogan of the strikers is "There is no freedom without solidarity," although most of them know nothing about freedom and Solidarity of 1980.

Therefore, the problem is not only economic, it does not lie only in shortages and in belt-tightening, as the Poles are accustomed to it being. The problem is a political one—how is one to change the system and to accept Solidarity as a partner when it acts on such a large scale in an almost legal manner and when, after all, it has freed itself from extreme political demands? This is not only a Polish question, and General Jaruzelski is not the kind of man who would be the first one in the socialist world to dare to make experiments.

Under such circumstances, of course, Gorbachev enters the stage from one side and the West and Americans from the other, the former because he could help to disentangle the Gordian knot, when what is really involved is the political system, and the Americans because they hold the key to the economic sphere. Namely, Washington has given up the sanctions it imposed in 1981, but is still holding back the program of economic aid to Poland, as long as the government does not accept dialogue with the opposition. This seems to be a vicious circle.